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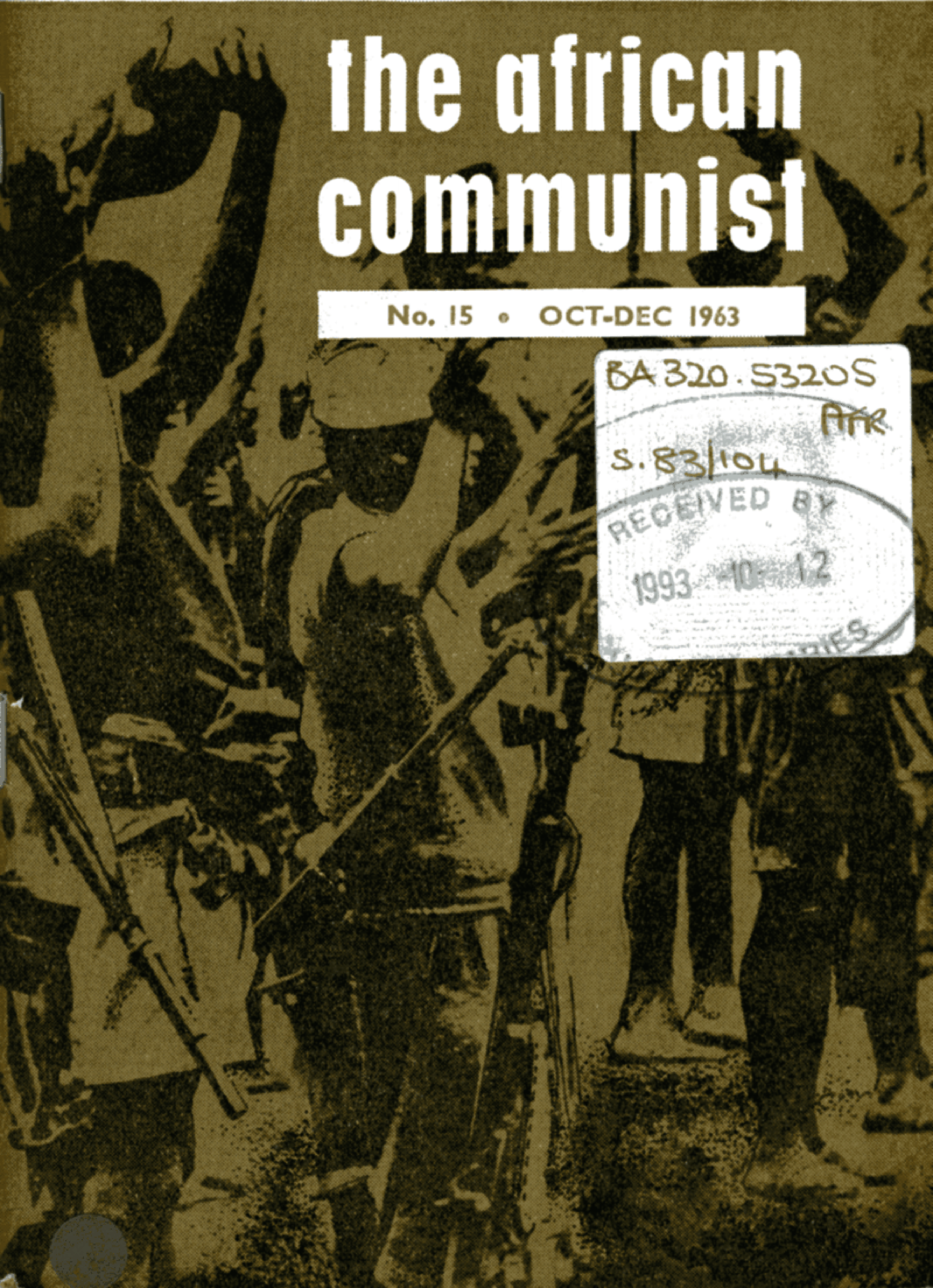

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Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS

A Great African Passes

ON AUGUST 27, the day before the historic march of 200,000 on Washington, there died in Accra, Ghana, at the age of 95, a great son of Africa: Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois.

The name of Dr. DuBois is inextricably bound up with the development both of the movement for freedom and equality for African-descended people in his mother-country, the United States of America, and the great revolution for the freedom, independence and unity of our Continent. He devoted his whole life to the fight against colonialism and race discrimination, for world peace and African liberation.

On February 23, 1868, only five years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation which formally abolished chattel slavery in the United States, he was born at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, U.S.A. He graduated as B.A. 1888, M.A. 1891, and PH.D., at Harvard University, 1895. From 1896 to 1910, Dr. DuBois held the chair of Economics and History at Atlanta and edited Atlanta University Studies. He was one of the founders of the Niagara Movement, subsequently the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People, and edited the N.A.A.P.C. journal *Crisis* from 1910 to 1932, when he returned as Professor of Sociology to Atlanta.

Dr. DuBois was the father of the modern Pan-African movement. His struggles for many years to establish on firm foundations the struggle against colonialism and imperialism for African independence are recorded in his fascinating memoir published in this issue as a special tribute to his memory.

The logic of Dr. DuBois' fight for the rights of the African and Negro people led him, step by step, to ever more radical and militant positions. After the Second World War he played a leading part in the United States and world peace movements, although these were highly unpopular with the United States imperialist authorities. He took part in the first Paris peace conference in April, 1949, and was chairman of the U.S. Peace Information Centre. As a result of these activities he suffered repeated acts of persecution by the U.S. Government.

Not long before his death, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois set a bold and courageous example by joining that brave, hounded and persecuted organization, the Communist Party of the United States. In doing so he not only affirmed that his whole life and career had led him towards the noble and correct principles of Marxism-Leninism; he also showed that a great statesman must be true to his principles, however much his opponents may try to smear and attack him for so doing.

During his long and fruitful life, Dr. DuBois wrote a number of books of great value to all African and other interested students. The titles include: *Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (1896); *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899); *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903); *John Brown* (1909); *Darkwater* (1920); *Dusk of Dawn* (1940); *Colour and Democracy* (1945); and *The World and Africa* (1946). At the time of his death Dr. DuBois was living in Accra, Ghana, and working on his great project, the *African Encyclopedia.*

There can be no doubt that this great man has left his own people and the African continent as a whole deeply in his debt. His disciples include most of the foremost leaders of present-day Africa, and there is no doubt that his ideas have moulded our continent and will do still more in the future, carried on by a new generation, until they have triumphed from Cape to Cairo. Hamba Kahle, William Du Bois. Africa will never forget your memory.

FREEDOM NOW!

IT WAS FITTING indeed that the mighty demonstration of 200,000 Americans of African descent, together with thousands of white supporters, should have stood in solemn tribute to Dr. DuBois whose death occurred the day before that historic march, the greatest ever seen in America. For without the hard pioneering work of DuBois and his small group of founders, architects of the Negro liberation movement, that demonstration could not have taken place.

But there are other factors too which have called forth the new fighting spirit of our kinsmen in America, a spirit which refuses to 'be patient and wait' for rights which they should long ago have enjoyed, and insistently demands 'freedom now!' This spirit has already transformed the entire United States political scene, broken through the stranglehold of Big Business monopoly capitalism which for so long froze and paralysed any sort of mass activity and political progress, and opened up the way for real democratic transformations in America. Not least among such factors has been the tremendous drive and force of the African revolution on our own continent.

It is absolutely intolerable to the spirit and the meaning of the New Africa that men and women should suffer in the United States or anywhere else merely because they or their ancestors have the proud distinction of coming from our continent. The 1963 Addis Ababa meeting of heads of African states served clear warning on the White Supremacists of America that we of Africa cannot and will not allow the scandal to continue. All Africa marched in spirit with the 'Freedom Now!' marchers on Washington. And the day is not far off when the upholders of apartheid in the U.S.A. will have to face the same hard facts as their colleagues in the Republic of South Africa: that they cannot indefinitely ignore the will and the very strong feelings of an entire Continent.

All over Africa, our blood boiled in fury when we read of the horrible bomb attack on a Negro Church in Birmingham, Alabama, when innocent children and adults were wantonly murdered by a fascist terrorist. We felt about it just as we do when Verwoerd murders innocent Africans in South Africa, or tortures Walter Sisulu and other heroes of our people in his barbarous jails.

We in Africa are far from satisfied with expressions of sympathy from President Kennedy combined with a snail's pace at carrying out any concrete measures to remedy the innumerable forms of discrimination and colonial-type exploitation suffered by our African-descended kinsmen in the United States. We are only too familiar, throughout our continent, with the ruthless disregard of the African working people shown by American monopoly-capitalist mining and other concerns which are established here. And we are convinced that United States employers show the same utter disregard of the interests of the working man, especially the black working man, when they are at home. What is at the back of race discrimination, in the United States or anywhere else? It is not just some mistaken ideology about superior and inferior 'races'. That ideology is spread and peddled by the people who profit by it, by dividing the working class and getting huge profits out of sweated black labour. The same imperialist groups who side with reaction everywhere in the world, as expressed by the continuing trend of United States foreign policy, are responsible for white chauvinism and anti-African outrages at home.

They are powerful groups indeed, dominating the American economy. And there is money in racialism; big money. That is why, as the Freedom Now! movement progresses, it is increasingly bound to find itself up against stiff resistance. When it comes, not merely to making verbal or legalistic concessions, but really to abolishing the roots of Jimcrow, the big money men will not retreat without a stern struggle, a struggle in which monopoly capitalism will increasingly expose itself as the enemy of the democratic American people, Negro and White alike.

Thus in fighting militantly and uncompromisingly for their rights to equality in every field, our brothers and sisters are at the same time fighting for the American people as a whole, who cannot enjoy a free and happy life under the domination of monopoly capitalism.

All of Africa is with them in that noble struggle.

THE U.N. MUST ACT NOW

EVERY YEAR, ever since Mrs. Pandit, on behalf of the newly-independent Government of India, first drew its attention to 'the treatment of persons of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa,' the General Assembly has discussed the matter of racial discrimination in South Africa. And every year, with the accession of one new African state after another to independence and membership of the United Nations, the debate has grown more and more bitter and positive. Gone are the days when the late General Smuts, with the support and connivance of the U.K. and U.S. delegations—then holding West Europe and Latin America in their pockets—could take refuge behind the excuse that this was South Africa's 'domestic concern'. And more and more the United Nations General Assembly has moved from verbal condemnation to a position of demanding direct punitive action against the South African government for its flagrant defiance of the Charter and its threat to world peace. Last year's Assembly went further than ever before when it called for economic sanctions, a breach of diplomatic relations and a trade boycott of the Republic. The resolution was passed by a big majority; unfortunately those opposing it were precisely the 'Western' countries which, with Japan, account for the bulk of South Africa's foreign trade. Most of the countries which voted for the resolution are doing something to carry it out; but the opposition though hopelessly defeated in the voting, are flagrantly defying the resolution.

Already in 1963 the matter has gone further than ever before by being debated at the Security Council—which is supposed to mean business, not just talk. The African, Asian and Socialist countries argued strongly in favour of economic sanctions—a compulsory boycott. But the U.S. and other NATO delegations sabotaged this decision.

The most they would agree was a resolution placing an embargo on the sale of arms to Verwoerd. A Security Council resolution is supposed to be binding. But the United States, which actually voted for the resolution in its final watered down version, astounded delegates by its extraordinary statement that it would only begin to observe the embargo in several months time—after existing contracts had been fulfilled. In the meantime—the resolution be damned!—they will go on selling Verwoerd guns to shoot down Africans. The British delegate went even further. On the grounds that Britain makes a lot of money out of South Africa, he coolly announced that the United Kingdom would ignore the solemn decision of the Security Council and continue indefinitely to arm the Nazi dictatorship of South Africa.

This is the kind of attitude which undermines the whole structure and concept of the United Nations. When South Africa was first exposed we were full of hope and belief that something would be done to help us free ourselves from race discrimination and tyranny. And indeed we are tremendously grateful to and inspired by those countries that have done their duty, whatever the sacrifice, and loyally respected United Nations decisions. But the United Nations can never be an effective instrument as long as any country can cheerfully defy any decision its rulers feel won't pay them.

Every year the plight of the South African people gets worse. The apartheid regulations are more intolerable and stringent; the brutal dictatorship needed to enforce such hateful regulations becomes harsher. South Africa's dungeons are full of freedom-fighters—at least 5,000 political prisoners at the time of writing—and every day news leaks out (despite the news-embargo enforced by the Vorster gestapo gang) of more arrests. Many patriots have met their death on the gallows, or in the townships and reserves. On October 9, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other heroes of the resistance movement were brought before a Pretoria court, after months of solitary confinement and cruel treatment in Verwoerd's dungeons, to face possible death sentences on charges of allegedly planning a revolution against the apartheid regime. The reaction of the United Nations was swift and dramatic. Within two days the General Assembly, by a crushing majority, demanded that this arbitrary trial be abandoned and all persons jailed or restricted for opposing apartheid be released forthwith.

One hundred and six nations voted for this resolution and only one—the representative of White South Africa—voted against it. Even Britain, the United States and France—though they had abstained in this matter in the special committee on apartheid the previous day—were unable to withstand the overwhelming wave of angry indignation which swept through the Assembly chamber. They instructed their delegates to vote for the resolution. And, bitterest pill for Verwoerd to swallow, his closest ally, Salazar, instructed his man to avoid participating in the vote by skulking in the corridors outside, rather than incur the infamy of voting against this historic resolution.

It was a great and unprecedented demonstration, an epic and far-reaching victory for the oppressed people of South Africa, for Africa and for humanity. We South Africans will never forget those who stood with us in these dark days. At the same time it must not for a moment be forgotten that the thousands of political prisoners are still suffering in the Verwoerd-Vorster police state; that Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Mbeki, Bernstein, Mhlaba, Goldberg—the seven accused of forming the 'high command' of the revolution—are still in danger of their lives. Verwoerd and Vorster, with fascist arrogance, ignore the solemn resolution, the unanimous verdict of the leaders of all the world's peoples, as 'unjustified interference.' They will continue to ignore the voice of the decent and freedom loving people who make up the overwhelming majority of humanity *until and unless that voice is translated into effective action in the only form these fascist race-maniacs can understand.*

The lives of the Seven of Pretoria—the best and bravest of our thousands of heroes of the South African Resistance—can and must be saved. They will be saved if the peoples of the world understand that the historic resolution of the General Assembly marked not the culmination but the beginning and the signal for a mighty campaign throughout the entire world for the release of political prisoners in South Africa. This is no longer a South African affair, or even an African affair. It has become a major world issue, profoundly involving and symbolising the aspirations of all men and women everywhere for peace, justice and liberty.

It was not difficult to vote 'Yes' at the United Nations. In fact, with feelings running high, it was difficult indeed to do otherwise. But the acid test still faces every government and every nation which voted for that grand humanitarian resolution. It still faces the United Nations as a whole. The decision has been taken; now it is deeds that count, not words. On what action is now taken to compel the clique in Pretoria to obey the will of the human race—upon that the future of the United Nations, embodying the aspirations of humanity, now depends.

ALGERIA CHOOSES SOCIALISM

HEROIC ALGERIA, standing upright in the rubble of seven destructive years of the war of national liberation against French colonialism, and amidst the graves of the million patriots who fell in that war, has courageously shown the way forward to the whole of Africa. By an overwhelming majority—97 per cent—the people have voted 'Yes' in the referendum for the new Constitution proclaiming Algeria a democratic people's republic, following the non-capitalist road of development to socialism.

The Algerian Communists played a notable part in the war of national liberation, and they are continuing to play their part in the patriotic task of national construction. It is true that their part has not received the recognition it deserves, and unfair measures have been taken against their party and their publications. But it is a mark of the true patriotism and broadness of their Marxist-Leninist outlook, that our Algerian comrades have put short-term differences aside, and called upon the Algerians to vote solidly in favour of the new people's constitution. In an important statement on this issue, Comrade Larbi Bouhali, explained the stand of the Algerian Communists, after the draft constitution had been adopted by an overwhelming majority after five days of lively debate.

'The adoption of our first Constitution must in effect assume the character of a great demonstration of national unity. Certainly no Constitution can give complete satisfaction to everyone, particularly in present conditions. . . . Now that the draft is ready it is no longer a case of holding it up for this or that question of detail, however important. It is a case of seeing the broad features of the Constitution and pronouncing on the whole.

'*Taking it as a whole it is no exaggeration to say that this is the most advanced Constitution of all the Arab and African countries.*'

Larbi Bouhali points out that the Constitution is based on the Tripoli Programme, supported by the Algerian Communists. In its fundamental principles it proclaims 'the exercise of power by the people, of which the fellahs (peasants) the workers and the revolutionary intellectuals form the vanguard; the building of a socialist democracy, the struggle against exploitation in all its forms.'

According to the new Constitution (Article 19) 'The Republic guarantees the freedom of the press and other news channels, freedom of association, freedom of speech and of public intervention . . .freedom of assembly.' Article 20 guarantees workers' rights to form trade unions, to strike and to participate in the management of industry. And in Article 21 the Republic guarantees the right of asylum 'to all those who are fighting for freedom.'

Larbi Bouhali expresses his reservations about the definition of the

FLN (National Liberation Front) which is described in the Constitution as ‘a party of the vanguard.’ He considers it is rather ‘a massive grouping of all the patriotic forces, a coherent and lasting alliance of all sections of the population whose interests and hopes are centred in national liberation.’ Out of such a united front the vanguard revolutionary will develop, and this concept would be more in keeping with reality and more effective. But, ‘the constitution is not in a position to resolve this problem, the solution rests with the most advanced and revolutionary forces in every sphere. It is therefore to be hoped that fraternal discussions will be continued among sincere, patriotic revolutionaries, supporters equally of a socialist Algeria faithful to its national and progressive traditions.’

Some, Bouhali points out, reproach the Constitution for ‘not being socialist enough.’ They are not facing reality. Algeria has not yet reached the stage of building socialism, and the Constitution could not therefore have the features of the constitution of a socialist country.

‘We must not lose sight of the fact that a grim struggle is taking place . . . between those who are determined to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and those who, on the pretext that they are more deeply attached to our national traditions, would like it to be carried on. That is the crux of the key problem in the battle for the Constitution. That is why to vote ‘Yes’ means condemning the path of capitalist development, means having confidence in the working masses, means committing our country more firmly to the road of non-capitalist development and to the perspective of socialism . . .

‘The historic task facing our people at the present time is the achievement of national liberation, the radical liquidation of the bases of neo-colonialism and feudalism, the liquidation of foreign military bases and the consolidation of national independence. The effective implementation of the Constitution . . . will make it possible to get over this first stage and create more favourable conditions for achieving socialism.’

‘For the time being,’ Larbu Bouhali concludes, ‘an end must be made of uncertainty. We must have stable and legal institutions, judicial arms for a more homogeneous government and its chief, whom we hope will be Brother Ben Bella, so that the revolution goes forward in a way which corresponds with the hopes of the masses of the people. We are firmly convinced that the Constitution presented to our people for their approval conforms with these demands and is loyal to our countless martyrs.’

TOKOLOHO

THE APPEARANCE OF the journal *Tokoloho* (Freedom), the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lesotho (Basutoland), is heartily to be welcomed. The Communist Party of Lesotho is the newest in Africa and possibly in the world, having been formed as recently as 1961. It speaks volumes for the initiative of this young party that already, so soon after its formation, it has been able to produce a journal of the standard of *Tokoloho,* which the Central Committee hopes to be able to produce at least once every two months.

In its editorial *Tokoloho* warns that a great crisis has arisen as a result of the provocative actions of the South African government. 'In the current emergency it is essential that we be very clear in regard to two basic facts of the situation', says *Tokoloho.* 'The first is that we cannot rely on British Imperialism to protect Basutoland against the Republic. On the contrary the British will do everything to protect the Republic from the forces of progress sweeping across Africa. The struggle of the Basotho for freedom is part of those forces. We must rely on our strength and on reliable alliances with the African states and the mighty socialist camp, in particular, the Soviet Union. Secondly we must not base the policy of the nation on the idea that the present South African regime is strong and fairly permanent. That is the myth the South African Republic itself is assiduously spreading. In fact the present regime in South Africa is arming itself precisely because it is in a weak position. It is isolated throughout the world. Inside the country it cannot count on the support of any but the privileged classes. We must base our country's policy on the future People's government of South Africa:

> 'The Communist Party of Lesotho uniting all revolutionary forces in the country will continue to work for immediate independence of our country which is the only way we can put a firm stop to the present drift.'

In a section devoted to 'Party News', the journal says: 'The first phase of party organization is now over. During this phase a great deal of literature has been distributed throughout the country. The series of lectures prepared by the Central Committee on political economy have been widely used. District committees and branches have been formed in every part of the country.'

> Now the time has arrived for the building of the Communist Party on a mass scale. The conditions in our country are very suitable for this. We are a nation of workers and peasants. We are not burdened in our country by big landlords and capitalists. Our traditional attitude to property has always been communal. Our destiny is to build a socialist Lesotho.

The journal says that in order to facilitate this task the Political

Bureau has formed an organizational bureau. 'The job of this bureau is to co-ordinate the organizational activities of the party. Every member of the Party must now consider himself or herself a party organiser. The most active and class conscious workers and peasants must be recruited into the party. Ideological work must not, however, be allowed to suffer. New members must be educated as thoroughly as before.'

> It is also vital to extend the contacts of the party with the mass organizations such as the Trade Unions, the Lekhotla la Bafo, the Marematlou Freedom Party and sports and religious organizations. Wherever the masses are—there the Party members should be. This is the only way to win the confidence of the people—to be able to work with them. It does not make the slightest difference that certain leaders are hostile to the Communist Party and its members. Such leaders will eventually be replaced by leaders who are willing and ready to work with the Communists.

A party with such a mature outlook cannot fail to make an impact on the Basutoland political scene, where factionalism and the cult of the personality in other political parties have to a greater or lesser extent estranged them from the masses.

Other passages in the journal deal with the great debate among Communists all over the world regarding the strategy and tactics of the International Communist Movement, the ban in the Protectorates on the *African Communist* and other publications, and the Rivonia arrests. On the last subject *Tokoloho* says that while all oppressed people all over the world profoundly regret the arrests of the people's leaders in South Africa, *certain things ought to be said right away. The South African revolution will be carried out by the masses in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. That every Minister of Justice from the formation of Union in 1910 has at one time or another claimed to 'have smashed' the African National Congress and the Communist Party. Vorster is not the first and like his predecessors he will be survived by both these organizations. The experienced revolutionary movement in South Africa will solve all the problems posed in the situation across the border. We hope the enthusiastic members of the present regime will remember all this when they appear before a People's Court in the not too distant future to answer for their crimes against the people of South Africa.*

Tokoloho may be obtained from the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Lesotho, Mr. John Motloheloa, P.O. Box 330, Maseru, Basutoland.

A STAB IN THE BACK

THE U.N.'S OPPOSITION to apartheid becomes firmer every year, and it is impossible to overlook the consistent and determined stand taken on South Africa by many African, Socialist and Asian countries over many years. Much of the credit for this is due to the sustained, tireless and brilliant statesmanship of the African National Congress, supported by other anti-apartheid movements in South Africa. And in the past, to give it its due, the Pan-Africanist Congress, despite its differences with the A.N.C. on home policy, has shared and supported its stand at the United Nations.

This year, however, the P.A.C. did a complete somersault. In a memorandum to the Security Council it actually opposed economic and other sanctions as useless 'at this stage', prettified the British and U.S. arms dealings with Verwoerd, and limited itself (how petty can they get?) to asking for land-rovers for P.A.C. refugees in the High Commission territories.

It is difficult to consider this about turn by P.A.C. as anything else but a complete sell-out and stab in the back. And we feel sure that many of the P.A.C. rank-and-file themselves would be disgusted if they knew what was being done in their name at Lake Success.

The whole unsavoury episode, however, becomes easier to understand if one considers the background of the new P.A.C. leader who presented the memorandum—Mr. Patrick Duncan. For Duncan himself has many ties with imperialism. In his paper *Contact* (which has now we understand severed connections with him) he viciously slandered and condemned the African hero, Patrice Lumumba, and congratulated Tshombe and Lumumba's murderers. Duncan's main quarrel with the Nationalist government is that it has deprived English-speaking whites of the dominant position they once held in South Africa. In a pamphlet he wrote in 1953 to explain why he supported the A.N.C. Defiance Campaign, he explained that as it was impossible to defeat the Nationalists at the polls, the only way out was by using the African political movements. 'The dormant power of the African people,' he wrote, 'is destined to supply the power for our emancipation.' And, again, 'only by evoking the political power of the Africans would we be freed from the oppressive sectional rule of the *volk*.'

It is perhaps not surprising, after all, to find this flirtation between an English jingo and the African jingoes who have adopted him as a sort of mascot. After all, they share a common hatred of communism, and of the anti-colonialist African revolution. But we predict with confidence that the marriage will not outlast the honeymoon period, when the crucial question rises who is to wear the trousers.

THE BIRTH OF AFRICAN UNITY

W. E. B. DuBois

In tribute to that great leader, the late Dr. DuBois, we reprint this fascinating account of the early history of the Pan-African movement which has grown to be such a formidable power in our times. This short history was first published in 1947, and republished in 1963 by the Hammersmith Bookshop Ltd., William Morris House, Beadon Rd., London, W.6, England, as part of the publication 'History of the Pan-African Congress.'

THE IDEA OF ONE AFRICA uniting the thought and ideals of all native peoples of the dark continent belongs to the twentieth century, and stems naturally from the West Indies and the United States. Here various groups of Africans, quite separate in origin, became so united in experience, and so exposed to the impact of a new culture, that they began to think of Africa as one idea and one land. Thus, late in the eighteenth century, when a separate Negro Church was formed in Philadelphia, it called itself 'African'; and there were various 'African' societies in many parts of the United States.

It was not, however, until 1900 that a black West Indian barrister, H. Sylvester-Williams, of Trinidad, practising in London, called together a 'Pan-African' Conference. This meeting attracted attention, put the word 'Pan-African' in the dictionaries for the first time, and had some 30 delegates, mainly from England and the West Indies, with a few coloured Americans. The Conference was welcomed by the Lord Bishop of London, and a promise was obtained from Queen Victoria through Joseph Chamberlain not to 'overlook the interests and welfare of the native races.'

This meeting had no deep roots in Africa itself, and the movement and the idea died for a generation. Then came the First World War, and among American Negroes at its close there was determined agitation for the rights of Negroes throughout the world, particularly in Africa. Meetings were held, a petiton was sent to President Wilson, and finally, by indirection, I secured passage on the Creel press boat, the 'Orizaba,' and landed in France in December, 1918.

I went with the idea of calling a 'Pan-African Congress' and trying to impress upon the members of the Peace Congress sitting at Versailles the importance of Africa in the future world. I was without credentials or influence, but the idea took on.

I tried to get a conference with President Wilson, but only got as far as Colonel House, who was sympathetic but non-committal. The Chicago *Tribune* said, January 19, 1919, in a dispatch from Paris dated December 30, 1918:

> An Ethiopian Utopia, to be fashioned out of the German colonies, is the latest dream of leaders of the Negro race who are here at the invitation of the United States Government as part of the extensive entourage of the American peace delegation. Robert R. Moton, successor of the late Booker Washington as head of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. William E. B. DuBois, Editor of the *Crisis*, are promoting a Pan-African Conference to be held here during the winter while the Peace Conference is on full blast. It is to embrace Negro leaders from America, Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti, and the French and British colonies and other parts of the black world. Its object is to get out of the Peace Conference an effort to modernize the dark continent, and in the world reconstruction to provide international machinery looking toward the civilization of the African natives.
>
> The Negro leaders are not agreed upon any definite plan, but Dr. DuBois has mapped out a scheme which he has presented in the form of a memorandum to President Wilson. It is quite Utopian, and it has less than a Chinaman's chance of getting anywhere in the Peace Conference, but it is nevertheless interesting. As 'self-determination' is one of the words to conjure with in Paris nowadays, the Negro leaders are seeking to have it applied, if possible, in a measure to their race in Africa.
>
> Dr. DuBois sets forth that while the principle of self-determination cannot be applied to uncivilized peoples, yet the educated blacks should have some voice in the disposition of the German colonies. He maintains that in settling what is to be done with the German colonies the Peace Conference might consider the wishes of the intelligent Negroes in the colonies themselves, the Negroes of the United States and of South America and the West Indies, the Negro Governments of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti, the educated Negroes in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa, and in British Uganda, Nigeria, Basutoland, Swaziland, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia and Bechuanaland and in the Union of Africa.
>
> Dr. DuBois' dream is that the Peace Conference could form an internationalized Africa, to have as its basis the former German colonies, with their 1,000,000 square miles and 12,500,000 population.
>
> 'To this,' his plan reads, 'could be added by negotiation the 800,000 square miles and 9,000,000 inhabitants of Portuguese Africa, It is not impossible that Belgium could be persuaded to add to such a State the 900,000 square miles and 9,000,000 natives of the Congo, making an international Africa with over 2,500,000 square miles of land and over 20,000,000 people.
>
> 'This Africa for the Africans could be under the guidance of international organization. The governing international commission should represent not simply Governments, but modern culture, science, commerce, social reform, and religious philanthropy. It must represent not simply the white world, but the civilized Negro world.
>
> 'With these two principles the practical policies to be followed out

> in the government of the new States should involve a thorough and complete system of modern education, built upon the present government, religion, and customary law of the churches. Within ten years 20,000,000 black children ought to be in school. Within a generation young Africa should know the essential outlines of modern culture. From the beginning the actual general government should use both coloured and white officials.
>
> 'We can, if we will, inaugurate on the dark continent a last great crusade for humanity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant.'

Members of the American delegation and associated experts assured me that no congress on this matter could be held in Paris because France was still under martial law; but the ace that I had up my sleeve was Blaise Diagne, the black deputy from Senegal and Commissaire-Général in charge of recruiting native African troops. I went to Diagne and sold him the idea of a Pan-African Congress. He consulted Clemenceau, and the matter was held up two wet, discouraging months. But finally we got permission to hold the Congress in Paris. 'Don't advertise it,' said Clemenceau, 'but go ahead.' Walter Lippman wrote me in his crabbed hand, February 20, 1919: 'I am very much interested in your organization of the Pan-African Conference, and glad that Clemenceau has made it possible. Will you send me whatever reports you may have on the work?'

The *Dispatch,* Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, February 16, 1919, said: 'Officials here are puzzled by the news from Paris that plans are going forward there for a Pan-African Conference to be held February 19. Acting Secretary Polk said today the State Department had been officially advised by the French Government that no such Conference would be held. It was announced recently that no passports would be issued for American delegates desiring to attend the meeting.' But at the very time that Polk was assuring American Negroes that no Congress would be held, the Congress actually assembled in Paris.

FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

This Congress represented Africa partially. Of the 57 delegates from 15 countries, nine were African countries with 12 delegates. The other delegates came from the United States, which sent 16 and the West, Indies, with 21. Most of these delegates did not come to France for this meeting, but happened to be residing there, mainly for reasons connected with the war. America and all the colonial powers refused to issue special visas.

The Congress influenced the Peace Conference. The New York *Evening Globe*, February 22, 1919, described it as 'the first assembly of the kind in history, and has for its object the drafting of an appeal to the Peace Conference to give the Negro race of Africa a chance to develop unhindered by other races. Seated at long green tables in the council room today were Negroes in the trim uniform of American Army officers, other American coloured men in frock coats or business suits, polished French Negroes who hold public office, Senegalese who sit in the French Chamber of Deputies. . . .'

The Congress specifically asked that the German colonies be turned over to an international organization instead of being handled by the various colonial powers. Out of this idea came the Mandates Commission. The resolutions of the Congress said in part:

(1) That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to the proposed international code for labour.

(2) That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of over-seeing the application of these laws to the political, social, and economic welfare of the natives.

(3) The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:

1. **The land** and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

2. **Capital.** The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives.

3. **Labour:** Slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labour except in punishment for crime; and the general conditions of labour shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

4. **Education:** It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers. . . .

5. **The State:** The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as far as their development permits in conformity

> with the principle that the Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceeds to the higher offices of State, to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans. . . . Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the civilized World.

The New York *Herald*, Paris, February 24, 1919, said: 'There is nothing unreasonable in the programme, drafted at the Pan-African Congress which was held in Paris last week. It calls upon the Allied and Associated Powers to draw up an international code of law for the protection of the nations of Africa, and to create, as a section of the League of Nations, a permanent bureau to ensure observance of such laws and thus further the racial, political and economic interests of the natives.'

SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

The idea of Pan-Africa having been thus established, we attempted to build a real organization. We went to work first to assemble a more authentic Pan-African Congress and movement. We corresponded with Negroes in all parts of Africa and in other parts of the world, and finally arranged for a Congress to meet in London, Brussels and Paris, in August and September, 1921. Of the 113 delegates to this Congress, 41 were from Africa, 35 from the United States, 24 represented Negroes living in Europe, and seven were from the West Indies. Thus the African element showed growth. They came for the most part, but not in all cases, as individuals, and more seldom as the representatives of organizations or of groups.

The Pan-African movement thus began to represent a growth and development; but it immediately ran into difficulties. First of all, there was the natural reaction of war and the determination on the part of certain elements in England, Belgium, and elsewhere, to recoup their war losses by intensified exploitation of colonies. They were suspicious of native movements of any sort. Then, too, there came simultaneously another movement, stemming from the West Indies, which accounted for our small West Indian representation. This was in its way a people's movement rather than a movement of the intellectuals. It was led by Marcus Garvey, and it represented a poorly conceived but intensely earnest determination to unite the Negroes of the world, more especially in commercial enterprise. It used all the nationalist and racial paraphernalia of popular agitation, and its strength lay in its backing by the masses of West Indians and by increasing numbers of American Negroes. Its weakness lay in its demogogic leadership, its intemperate propaganda, and the natural fear which it threw into the colonial powers.

The London meetings of the Congress were held in Central Hall, opposite Westminster Abbey, August 28 and 29, 1921. They were preceded by conference with the International Department of the English Labour Party, where the question of the relation of white and coloured labour was discussed. Beatrice Webb, Leonard Wolf, Mr. Gillies, Norman Leys, and others were present.

Paul Otlet, once called Father of the League of Nations, wrote me in April, 1921: 'I am very happy to learn your decision. We can put at your disposal the Palais Mondial for your Pan-African Conference, August 31 and September 1 and 2.' Otlet and La Fontaine, the Belgian leaders of internationalism, welcomed the meeting warmly to Belgium, but strong opposition arose. The movement was immediately confounded by the press and others as a part of, if not the real, 'Garvey Movement.'

The Brussels *Neptune* wrote, June 14: 'Announcement has been made . . . of a Pan-African Congress organized at the instigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People of New York. It is interesting to note that this association is directed by personages who it is said in the United States have received remuneration from Moscow (Bolsheviki). The association has already organized its propaganda in the lower Congo, and we must not be astonished if some day it causes grave difficulties in the Negro village of Kinshasa, composed of all the ne'er-do-wells of the various tribes of the Colony, aside from some hundreds of labourers.'

Nevertheless, meetings of interest and enthusiasm were held. The *Crisis* reported: 'The Congress itself was held in the marvellous Palais Mondial, the World Palace situated in the Conquantenaire Park. We could not have asked for a better setting. But there was a difference. In the first place, there were many more white than coloured people—there are not many of us in Brussels—and it was not long before we realized that their interest was deeper, more immediately significant, than that of the white people we had found elsewhere. Many of Belgium's economic and material interests centre in Africa in the Belgian Congo. Any interference with the natives might result in an interference with the sources from which so many Belgian capitalists drew their prosperity.'

Resolutions which were passed without dissent at the meeting in

London contained a statement concerning Belgium, criticizing her colonial regime although giving her credit for plans of reform for the future. This aroused bitter opposition in Brussels, and an attempt was made to substitute an innocuous statement concerning good will and investigation which Diagne declared adopted in the face of a clear majority in opposition.

At the Paris meeting the original London resolutions, with some minor corrections, were adopted. They were in part:

> To the World: The absolute equality of races, physical, political, and social, is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity, and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion, and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races, or of races, naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.
>
> That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty: rather it fulfils it. And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified, that of the colour of the skin and texture of the hair is surely the most adventitious and idiotic....

The beginning of wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempts to prove that its practice is the secret and divine gift of the few, no habit is more natural or more widely spread among primitive people, or more easily capable of development among masses. Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, in Africa, America, and the Isles of the sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance, but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

Surely in the 20th century of the Prince of Peace, in the millennium of Mohammed, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, yearning, and benevolence to develop native institutions whose aim is not profit and power of the few. . . .

What, then, do those demand who see these evils of the colour line and racial discrimination, and who believe in the divine right of suppressed and backward people to learn and aspire and be free? The Negro race through their thinking intelligentsia demand:

1. **The recognition** of civilized men as civilized despite their race or colour.

> **2. Local** self-government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to complete self-government under the limitation of a self-governed world.
> **3. Education** in self-knowledge, in scientific truth, and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.
> **4. Freedom** in their own religion and social customs and with the right to be different and non-conformist.
> **5. Co-operation** with the rest of the world in government, industry, and art on the bases of Justice, Freedom, and Peace.
> **6. The return** to Negroes of their land and its natural fruits, and defence against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.
> **7. The establishment** under the League of Nations of an international institution for study of the Negro problems.
> **8. The establishment** of an international section of the Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labour. . . .

In some such words and thoughts as these we seek to express our will and ideal, and the end of our untiring effort. To our aid, we call all men of the earth who love justice and mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world. Out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls. The answer is written in the stars.

The whole press of Europe took notice of these meetings, and more especially of the ideas behind the meeting. Gradually they began to distinguish between the Pan-African Movement and the Garvey agitation. They praised and criticized. Sir Harry Johnston wrote: 'This is the WEAKNESS of all the otherwise grand efforts of the Coloured People in the United States to pass on their own elevation and education and political significance to the Coloured Peoples of Africa: they know so LITTLE ABOUT REAL Africa.'

Even *Punch* took a good-natured jibe (September 7, 1921): ' "A PAN AFRICAN MANIFESTO," "NO ETERNALLY INFERIOR RACES" (headlines in *The Times*) No, but in the opinion of our coloured brothers some infernally superior ones!'

The Second Pan-African Congress had sent me with a committee to interview the officials of the League of Nations in Geneva. I talked with Rappard, who headed the Mandates Commission; I saw the first meeting of the Assembly; and especially I had an interesting interview with Albert Thomas, head of the ILO. Working with Monsieur Bellegarde of Haiti, a member of the Assembly, we brought the status of Africa to the attention of the League. The League published our petition as an official document, saying in part:

> The Second Pan-African Congress wishes to suggest that the spirit of the

> world moves toward self-government as the ultimate aim of all men and nations, and that consequently the mandated areas, being peopled as they are so largely by black folk, have a right to ask that a man of Negro descent, properly fitted in character and training, be appointed a member of the Mandates Commission so soon as a vacancy occurs.
>
> The Second Pan-African Congress desires most earnestly and emphatically to ask the good offices and careful attention of the League of Nations to the condition of civilized persons of Negro descent throughout the world. Consciously and sub-consciously, there is in the world today a widespread and growing feeling that it is permissible to treat civilized men as uncivilized if they are coloured and more especially of Negro descent. The result of this attitude and many consequent laws, customs, and conventions, is that a bitter feeling of resentment, personal insult, and despair is widespread in the world among those very persons whose rise is the hope of the Negro race.
>
> We are fully aware that the League of Nations has little, if any, direct power to adjust these matters, but it has the vast moral power of public world opinion, and as a body conceived to promote Peace and Justice among men. For this reason we ask and urge that the League of Nations take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races, and that it suggest to the colonial powers connected with the League of Nations to form an International Institute for the study of the Negro problem, and for the evolution and protection of the Negro race.

Later Bellegarde revealed to the world the disgrace of the bombing of the African Bondelschwartz, and in retaliation was recalled by the American forces then in power in Haiti.

We sought to have these meetings result in a permanent organization. A secretariat was set up in Paris and functioned for a couple of years, but it was not successful. Just as the Garvey movement made its thesis industrial co-operation, so the new young secretary of the Pan-African movement, a coloured Paris public school teacher, wanted to combine investment and profit with the idea of Pan-Africa. He wanted American Negro capital for this end. We had other ideas.

THIRD PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

This crucial difference of aim and method between our Paris office and the American Negro interested in the movement nearly ruined the organization. The Third Pan-African Congress was called for 1923, but the Paris secretary postponed it. We persevered, and finally, without proper notice or preparation, met in London and Lisbon late in the year. The London session was small and was addressed by Harold Laski and Lord Olivier and attended by H. G. Wells. Ramsay MacDonald was kept from attending only by the pending election, but wrote: 'Anything I can do to advance the cause of your people on your recommendation, I shall always do gladly.'

The meeting of the Congress in Lisbon was more successful. Eleven countries were represented there, and especially Portuguese Africa. The Liga Africana was in charge. 'The great association of Portuguese Negroes with headquarters at Lisbon which is called the Liga Africana is an actual federation of all the indigenous associations scattered throughout the five provinces of Portuguese Africa and representing several million individuals. . . . This Liga Africana which functions at Lisbon in the very heart of Portugal, so to speak, has a commission from all the other native organizations and knows how to express to the Government in no ambiguous terms but in a highly dignified manner all that should be said to avoid injustice or to bring about the repeal of harsh laws. That is why the Liga Africana of Lisbon is the director of the Portuguese African movement; but not only in the good sense of the word, but without making any appeal to violence and without leaving constitutional limits.'

Two former colonial ministers spoke, and the following demands were made for Africans:

1. **A voice** in their own government.
2. **The right** of access to the land and its resources.
3. **Trial by** juries of their peers under established forms of law.
4. **Free elementary** education for all; broad training in modern industrial technique; and higher training of selected talent.
5. **The development** of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6. **The abolition** of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.
7. **World disarmament** and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defence.
8. **The organization** of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labour the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few. . . .

> 'In fine, we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African state striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans?'

From that Lisbon meeting I went to Africa for the first time, to see the land whose history and development I had so long been studying. I held from President Coolidge of the United States status as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to represent him at the second inaugural of President King of Liberia.

So far, the Pan-African idea was still American rather than African, but it was growing, and it expressed a real demand for examination of the African situation and a plan of treatment from the native African point of view. With the object of moving the centre of this agitation nearer other African centres of population I planned a Fourth Pan-African Congress in the West Indies in 1925. My idea was to charter a ship and sail down the Caribbean, stopping for meetings in Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, and the French islands. But here I reckoned without my steamship lines. At first the French Line replied that they could 'easily manage the trip,' but eventually no accommodation could be found on any line except at the prohibitive price of fifty thousand dollars. I suspect that colonial powers spiked this plan.

FOURTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Two years later, in 1927, a Fourth Pan-African Congress was held in New York. Thirteen countries were represented, but direct African participation lagged. There were 208 delegates from 22 American states and 10 foreign countries. Africa was sparsely represented by representatives from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria. Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast spoke; Herskovits then of Columbia, Mensching of Germany, and John Vandercook were on the programme. The resolution stressed six points. Negroes everywhere need:

1. **A voice** in their own government.
2. **Native rights** to the land and its natural resources.
3. **Modern education** for all children.
4. **The development** of Africa for the Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
5. **The reorganization** of commerce and industry so as to make the main object of capital and labour the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.
6. **The treatment** of civilized men as civilized despite difference of birth, race or colour.

The Pan-African Movement had been losing ground since 1921. In 1929, to remedy this, we made desperate efforts to hold the fifth Pan-African Congress on the continent of Africa itself, and selected Tunis because of its accessibility. Elaborate preparations were begun. It looked as though at last the movement was going to be geographically African. But two insuperable difficulties intervened: first, the French Government very politely but firmly informed us that the Congress could take place at Marseilles or any French city, but not in Africa; and finally, there came the Great Depression.

FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

The Pan-African idea died, apparently, until 15 years afterwards, in the midst of the Second World War, when it leaped to life again in an astonishing manner. At the Trades Union Congress in London in the winter of 1945 there were black labour representatives from Africa and the West Indies. Among these, aided by coloured persons resident in England, there came a spontaneous call for the assembling of another Pan-African Congress in 1945, when the International Trades Union had their meeting in Paris.

After consultation and correspondence a Pan-African Federation was organized.

> 'On August 11 and 12 there was convened at Manchester, the headquarters of the Pan-African Federation, a Delegate Conference representing all of the organizations which have been invited to participate in the forthcoming Congress. At that *ad hoc* meeting a review of the preparatory work was made. From the reports it revealed that the position was as follows:
>
> 'A number of replies had been received from Labour, Trade Union, Co-operative, and other progressive organizations in the West Indies, West Africa, South and East Africa, in acknowledgment of the formal invitation to attend the Conference. Most of these bodies not only approved and endorsed the agenda, making minor modifications and suggestions here and there, but pledged themselves to send delegates. In cases where either the time is too short or the difficulties of transport at the present time too great to be overcome at such short notice, the organizations will give mandates to the natives of the territories concerned who are travelling to Paris to attend the World Trades Union Conference. Where territories will not be sending delegates to the Trades Union Conference, organizations will mandate individuals already in Great Britain to represent them.
>
> 'In this way we are assured of the widest representation, either through people travelling directly from the colonial areas to Britain, or individuals from those territories who are already in the British Isles. Apart from these overseas delegates, more than 14 organizations of Africans and peoples of African descent in Great Britain and Ireland will participate in the Conference.'

There is no organization in the British colonial empire which has not been invited. The philosophy back of this meeting has been expressed by the West African Students Union of London in a letter to me:

> 'The idea of a Congress of African nations and all peoples of African descent throughout the world is both useful and timely. Perhaps it is even long overdue. But we observe that four of such Pan-African Congresses had been held in the past, all within recent memory, and that the one at present under discussion will be the fifth. It is unfortunate that all these important conferences should have been held outside Africa, but in European capitals. This point is significant, and should deserve our careful attention. . . .
>
> 'Our Executive Committee are certainly not in favour of this or any future Pan-African Congress being held anywhere in Europe. We do rather suggest the Republic of Liberia as perhaps an ideal choice. All

> considerations seem to make that country the most favourable place for our Fifth Pan-African Congress. And, especially, at a time like this when Liberia is planning to celebrate the centenary of the founding of the Republic two years hence, the holding of our Congress there seems most desirable. We have good reason to believe that the Government of Liberia would welcome this idea, and would give us the encouragement and diplomatic assistance that might be necessary to ensure success.'

The convening committee agrees that: 'After reviewing the situation, we do feel, like you, that our Conference should be merely a preliminary one to a greater, more representative Congress to be held some time next year, especially as a new Government has come into being in Britain since we started planning the forthcoming Conference.' But they decided to call a congress this year in Manchester, since 'it is now officially announced that the World Trades Union Conference will begin on September 25 and close on October 9, we are planning to convene the Pan-African Congress on October 15. It should last a week. This will enable the colonial delegates to get from France to England between October 9 and 15. It will also enable us to hold some informal meetings and finish off our plans.'

Difficulties of transportation and passport restrictions may make attendance at this Congress limited. At the same time there is real hope here, that out of Africa itself, and especially out of its labouring masses, has come a distinct idea of unity in ideal and co-operation in action which will lead to a real Pan-African movement.

Singularly enough, there is another 'Pan-African' movement. I thought of it as I sat recently in San Francisco and heard Jan Smuts plead for an article on 'human rights' in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. It was an astonishing paradox. The Pan-African movement which he represents is a union of the white rulers of Kenya, Rhodesia, and Union of South Africa, to rule the African continent in the interest of its white investors and exploiters. This plan has been incubating since 1921, but has been discouraged by the British Colonial Office. Smuts is now pushing it again, and the white legislatures in Africa have asked for it. The San Francisco trusteeship left a door open for this sort of thing. Against this upsurges the movement of black union delegates working in co-operation with the labour delegates of Russia, Great Britain, and the United States in order to build a new world which includes black Africa. We may yet live to see Pan-Africa as a real movement.

BASUTOLAND BECHUANALAND SWAZILAND

N. Numadé

Britain Plans a New Munich in South Africa

Lying in the very heart of the most reactionary strongholds of colonialism and white domination in Africa are three territories under British rule—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Each of them shares borders with Verwoerd's apartheid Republic of South Africa—in which Basutoland is entirely enclosed. Swaziland also borders on Salazar's fascist colony of Mozambique. Bechuanaland also borders on South-West Africa, white-dominated Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. As is well known, Verwoerd's South Africa, Salazar's Portugal and Field's Southern Rhodesia are joined in an unholy alliance against African freedom, independence and unity. They are the bastions and last-ditch strongholds of colonialism in our continent. In direct conflict with the onward upsurge throughout our continent, where colonialism is being forced to retreat in the face of the national liberation movement, the shackles of colonialism and white domination are being tightened by the aggressive colonialist rulers of Southern Africa and the gains and security of all Africa threatened by these bastions of oppression and exploitation.

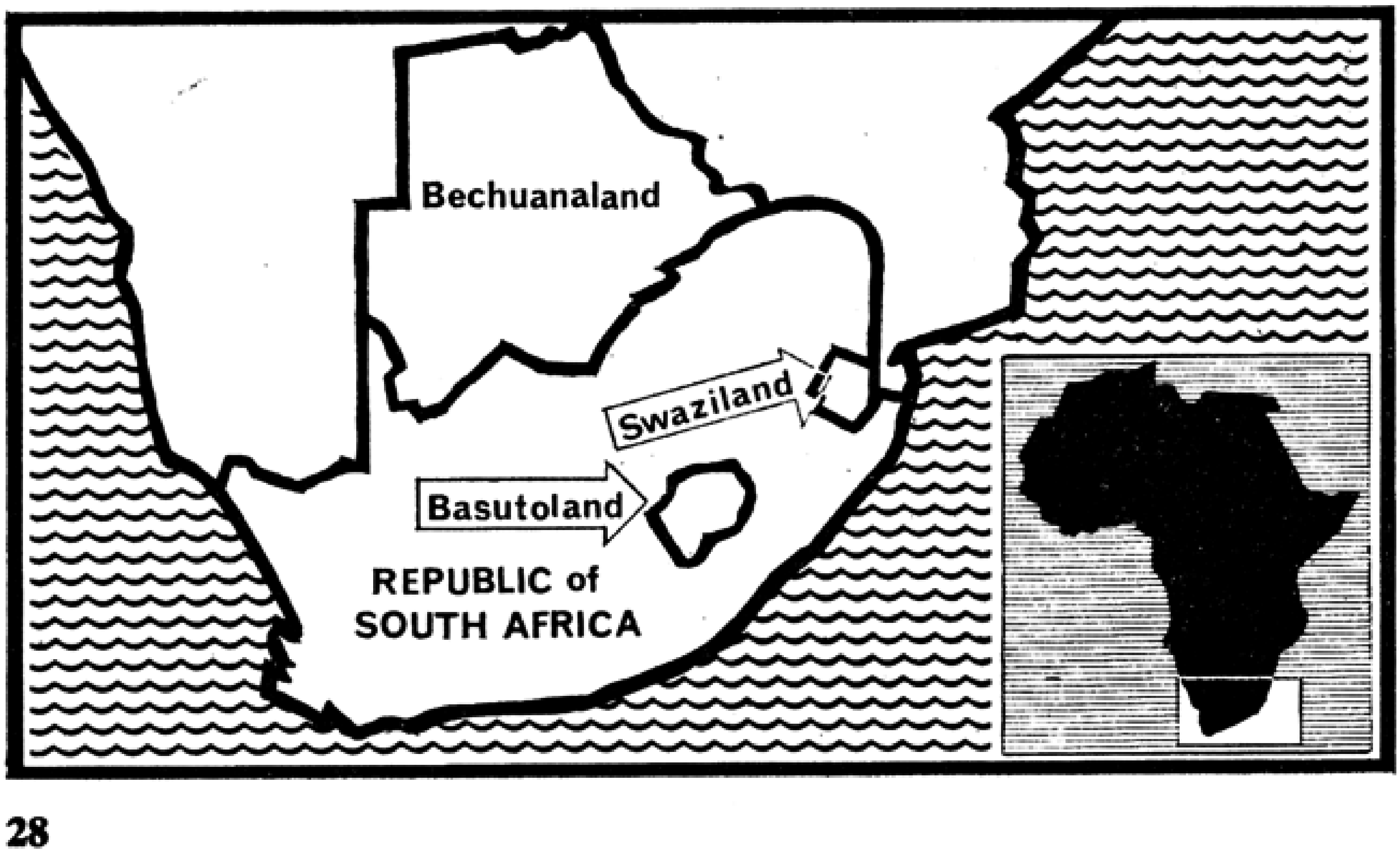
Elsewhere in Africa, British imperialism, forced into retreat by the advance of the national liberation movement, has managed to save face and to retain key British economic interests by posing as the friend of African independence and development. But in these three territories (the so-called Protectorates or High Commission Territories) the hollowness and hypocrisy of these pretences are being sharply challenged and exposed. Political and economic development has been stifled in the interests of preserving British good relations with Verwoerd, Salazar and Welensky.

There have been long drawn negotiations in Whitehall between delegations, usually most unrepresentative, from the territories and Colonial Office officials, resulting in completely inadequate and undemocratic 'constitutional reforms in the direction of self government and independence.' But all essential elements of sovereignty—defence, security, foreign policy etc.—are retained in British hands, even in the case of Basutoland which has compelled greater concessions than the other two territories. Economic development in each of these territories has virtually been sacrificed in the interests of ensuring a steady supply of cheap labour to the South African gold mines in which British capitalists have a substantial stake.

The result is that each of the territories is more or less dependent economically on the Republic of South Africa. South African banks monopolise their finances and only South African currency is used. All manufactures are imported (at exorbitant prices) from the Republic; and in the absence of any openings for employment at home a very large proportion of the menfolk (in the case of Basutoland more than half the able-bodied men) are compelled to leave their families and work on the Witwatersrand and Orange Free State gold mines to earn a few pounds to pay their taxes and buy essential commodities.

Britain claims that her role in the three territories is that of a 'protecting power'. And it is true that during the 19th century the Swazi, Bechuana and Basuto people, through their tribal leaders, concluded alliances with Great Britain, under Queen Victoria, to protect themselves against the insatiable appetites for land and domination of the Boer Republics.

But they soon found that the cost of this 'protection' was very high. Instead of being allies of the British in Southern Africa, the Basuto, Bechuana and Swazi people found that they were being treated as



colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. A swarm of British officials and administrators descended upon them and proceeded to lord it over the African people while contributing nothing to their wellbeing and progress. More; the British treacherously handed over large and rich areas of these countries to the White minority governments against which they were supposed to be protecting the indigenous inhabitants. The most fertile regions of Basutoland, on the west bank of the Caledon River, were handed over to the Orange Free State—these were and still are known as the 'conquered territories', although King Moshoeshoe was never conquered by either the British or the Boers, and complained bitterly 'my only crime is that I have a rich and fertile country.' Similarly, a vast area of Bechuanaland in the Vryburg-Mafeking area, still known as 'British Bechuanaland' was handed over to the Cape Colony.

There is a direct line of succession between British policy towards the High Commission Territories at that time and today. Once again, they are threatened more than ever by the Boer Republic of Dr. Verwoerd, which has militarised the borders, armed itself to the teeth, and every day utters new threats and carries out acts of armed aggression, such as the notorious Ganyile and Abrahams kidnappings. Britain's reaction to these acts and threats of aggression is, true to form, to appease the Republic. South African political refugees are hounded and expelled. Not a single step is taken to defend the people of the protectorates against aggression, to end their economic subjection to South Africa, or to give them their own independence so they can defend themselves.

Let us briefly survey the background of each of these countries.

BECHUANALAND

With an area of 225,000 square miles, about the size of France, Bechuanaland is the largest of the three territories. More than 98 per cent of the population of approximately 350,000 are Africans. Much of Bechuanaland is occupied by the Kalahari Desert, a semi-desert with an annual rainfall of less than nine inches. But even of the arable land, only 5 per cent is at present under cultivation, the peasants growing maize, sorghum (mabela) millet, cowpeas, tobacco and groundnuts for local consumption. Bechuanaland, however, is mainly a cattle-raising country. There are substantial exports, both of cattle and of abattoir products—though the Mochuana peasant is badly cheated in the process and only gets a fraction of the value of his animal. Over 90 per cent of the population is engaged in stock raising.

British rule in Bechuanaland dates back to the last quarter of the 19th century when Chief Khama, appealed to Britain for protection against Boer aggression. Because of the contradictions between British and Boer interests and the grandiose empire building schemes of Cecil Rhodes, the British readily agreed. Instead of going through the Transvaal a railway line between the Cape and Rhodesia was built through Bechuanaland—this remains the only rail link between the Republic and the north. But, with the Boer War and the conquest of the Transvaal with its fabulous mineral wealth, British imperialism rapidly lost interest in Bechuanaland except as a reservoir of cheap labour for the Witwatersrand mines. The state of Bechuanaland today is a typical example of the economic and political stagnation, poverty and backwardness characteristic of colonialism at its worst.

There is known to be considerable mineral wealth in Bechuanaland, but no serious effort has been made to tap the mineral resources of the country, and what has been done has been mainly in the interests of foreign monopoly capitalists. In 1959 an agreement was reached between the Bamangwato tribe and the Rhodesian Selection Trust, giving the latter prospecting rights in the Bamangwato reserve. Small quantities of asbestos, gold and manganese are extracted by Bechuana labour from Bechuana mines, but conditions of work are abominable and the people have received little benefit from these developments. With virtually no employment openings in the territory, about 20,000 men (approximately 20 per cent of the men) are always away from home working on the mines in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia where British monopolies have huge investments. The annual revenue from this export of labour is £55,000.

Nearly all the imports to Bechuanaland come from the neighbouring Republic. In 1958 these amounted to a value of £3,406,560. Apart from labour, Bechuanaland pays for these by her exports, as follows (1958 figures):

Cattle (alive and carcases) ..	£1,640,767
Abattoir by-products	£326,000
Asbestos	£149,911
Beans	£109,200

It is profoundly symbolic of Britain's contemptuous and treacherous attitude towards Bechuanaland that this country has the peculiar distinction of being the only country in the world with a capital outside its borders. For the capital of Bechuanaland is still today (two years after South Africa was kicked out of the Commonwealth) in Mafeking—on the 'foreign' territory of the Republic of South Africa. From there British officials lay down the law for the government of the Bechuana.

Under the pressure of the Bechuanaland People's Party under the

Presidency of Mr. Motsamai Mpho, and faced with the world-wide and all-African revolt against colonialism, British imperialism has made certain grudging and superficial concessions in recent years. A Commission on racial discrimination resulted in the removal of some of the more obvious and offensive instances of apartheid. Africans may now stay in the former whites-only hotels and enter the bars and cafes. But the civil service remains dominated by Whites, Africans (often with superior qualifications) invariably occupying subordinate positions and 'grade C' houses. Lobatsi and other border towns, are barely distinguishable from typical South African 'dorps' with pleasant houses and pretty gardens at one end for whites and a crowded location (no electricity or piped water) at the other for Africans.

The 'Legislative Council' is a travesty of the British parliamentary system. Long debates take place about relatively trivial affairs, for of course all major matters are reserved for decision by Mafeking and the Colonial Office. The 'Legco' is undemocratic in the extreme with heavy preponderance for the tiny white majority and the tribal authorities who are on the British payroll. The Executive Committee contains only two African 'unofficial' members, neither elected by popular vote.

The Bechuanaland authorities conduct a vigorously anti-democratic and reactionary policy, in line with that of the Republic. Progressive publications (including some issues of the *African Communist*) are arbitrarily banned. Refugees from political persecution in South Africa are subjected to arbitrary restriction on their political activities against apartheid in South Africa, reminiscent of Vorster's banning notices. Some, like Jack and Rica Hodgson and Michael Harmel have been refused residence permits and then declared prohibited immigrants. But citizens of the South African Republic who support the Nationalist Government are free to own land, participate in politics on both sides of the border and come and go as they like. It is understood that high-ups in the Nationalist Government including Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, own ranches in Bechuanaland. Members of the terroristic 'special branch' of Vorster's Nazi police force enter and leave Bechuanaland without let or hindrance. They kidnapped Dr. Abrahams and his companions and took them into South-West Africa. They came to Francistown and placed time bombs in the fuselage of the East African Airways Dakota aircraft which had come to airlift South African political refugees, including Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich to Tanganyika. This was clearly attempted murder, for had the bombs not exploded 'prematurely' there is little doubt that the plane would have crashed, killing all aboard.

Progressive and democratic forces in Bechuanaland have been and are still campaigning ceaselessly against these abuses and for the independence of their country from British rule. The most advanced section of the Bechuanaland population is represented by the Bechuanaland Peoples' Party under the leadership of men like Mr. M. K. Mpho and Mr. B. D. Macheng. Despite the setback caused by the defection of Mr. Motsete and Mr. Matante who seceded to form a rival organisation with the same name, the B.P.P. is steadily building up its strength and advancing the just demand of the Bechuana people. In a recent statement (4.9.63) the leaders of the Party declared:

'As long as the government of Bechuanaland is still in the hands of the British colonial government, nothing will be done in the interests of the people of Bechuanaland. The solution is the granting of independence . . .'

LESOTHO (Basutoland)

Basutoland, with about 800,000 people, is the most populous of the three territories. It is completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa, the Orange Free State lying to the West and North-West, Natal to the East and the Transkei and Cape Province to the South.

During the nineteenth century King Moshoeshoe, the founder of the Basuto nation, was subject to constant attacks both by the Boers of the adjoining Orange Free State Republic and the British from the Cape Colony. A brilliant strategist and diplomat, he succeeded in beating off all these attacks and astutely making use of the contradictions between the aggressors. Ultimately, when compelled to seek the 'protection' of Great Britain, the Basuto expressly stipulated that there should be no ownership or occupation of the country by foreign colonists. The area of Basutoland was very much reduced in the process of settlement but unlike Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Lesotho today, though poor and mountainous, is still owned by the Basutos. There are white traders and officials, but no colonists or settlers own any part of the country.

With the great Drakensberg range in the east and the Maluti mountains in the west, more than half of this 'Switzerland of the south' is unsuitable for agriculture. Colonial rule failed for many years to check the terrible erosion of the remaining arable land. Nevertheless, the sturdy and independent Basuto people do till the soil and raise cattle, horses, sheep and goats. In 1959, Basutoland exported (exclusively to the Republic) the following products:

Wool	£830,903
Mohair	£371,618
Beans and Peas	£114,972
Cattle	£4,730
Wheat	£35,449

The total imports for the year 1959 amounted to £757,670, and the exports were £1,481,410. At least 43 per cent of the adult male population is absent from the territory at any one time working in South Africa. When it is remembered that the total includes old men no longer fit for the hard life of a migrant labourer, it is easy to understand why young men or those in the prime of life are not often seen in Basutoland. Inside the country there are no industries or openings for employment.

There are reported to be rich deposits of alluvial diamonds, and the Oppenheimer monopoly has been negotiating for rights to exploit these. The Basuto fear that such an agreement would be highly disadvantageous to them as it is known that the Oppenheimer concern tends to discourage rather than develop additional sources of these stones for fear of depressing the world market price.

Perhaps because of the fierce tradition of independence derived from the founder of the nation, and also because such a high proportion of the men have become imbued with working class consciousness as migrant labourers in South Africa, Basutoland has a longer tradition of mass political activity than the other two High Commission Territories. The pioneer Basuto organisation is the Lekhotla La Bafo, founded after the First World War by its present President, Josiel Lefela. Subsequently, the Basutoland Congress Party was formed under the inspiration and guidance of the African National Congress of South Africa. Other parties in Basutoland are the Marematlou Freedom Party, the National Party and the Communist Party of Lesotho. This last, despite continued sniping and repressive action by the colonialist authorities, remains the only legal Marxist-Leninist Party on the continent of Africa. Its programme (see the *African Communist* No. 10) calls for a united front of national liberation comprising all the democratic and patriotic forces of Lesotho. Such a united front, which would direct its attention to the problems of placing the country on a genuine and firm path to independence, could rapidly overcome the weaknesses which today make Lesotho an economic appendage of the Republic of South Africa and a pawn of Great Britain in her treacherous negotiations with her ally, Verwoerd. It is regrettable that certain leaders in the territory, instead of responding to this correct call of the Communist Party of Lesotho, engage in futile anti-Communist propaganda and intrigues, which merely serve to divert the peoples' attention from the terribly urgent problems of poverty and aggression which face them today.

Despite internal differences, however, the Basuto people are sufficiently united and nationally conscious to have advanced further on the road to independence than has been achieved in the other two territories under discussion. The constitution is far from democratic, and Britain 'reserves' key portfolios, such as defence, external relations and security, making a mockery of independence for Lesotho. All the same, half of the members of the Legislative Council are elected by a semi-democratic franchise (only 'taxpayers' can vote, excluding most women). This body recently made history when—in a striking demonstration of its advancing maturity and responsiveness to the will of the people—it rejected the Resident Commissioner's 'speech from the throne'. Their express reason: they had no confidence in the intention of the British authorities to safeguard Lesotho from the threat of aggression by the Republic of South Africa.

SWAZILAND

With an area of 6,704 square miles, Swaziland is the smallest of the three territories. Of an estimated population of 265,000, about 10,000 are white and the rest African and Coloured. Like Basutoland and Bechuanaland, Swaziland came under British 'protection' in the 19th century.

With its lush climate and fertile soil, beneath which substantial mineral wealth is hidden, Swaziland is the wealthiest of the three High Commission territories. Some idea of its wealth may be gathered from the following analysis of its main exports for the year 1959, which totalled £4,383,528:

Chrysolite Asbestos	£2,085,353
Sugar	£422,960
Cattle	£405,060
Patulite (chipboard)	£333,353
Seed Cotton	£298,233
Rice	£187,000
Pineapples	£130,100
Tobacco	£87,554
Timber	£78,908
Butter	£74,039
Citrus	£48,434
Bananas	£45,851

In the same year Swaziland imports from the Republic were worth £3,979,464. The few industries in Swaziland are owned and operated by White capitalists, nearly all of them citizens of the Republic of South Africa. There are two creameries, two bone meal factories, two sugar mills, a pulp mill, a canning factory, a clothing factory, a tannery and a few engineering plants. The Havelock Asbestos mine is one of the largest in the world. Recently, 1,400 workers went on strike at this mine demanding a wage of £1 a day. At present the workers receive 3s. 4d. a day. The strike developed into a general strike called by the Ngwane Liberation Movement against the undemocratic constitution which the British and their Swaziland collaborators are attempting to impose. It was brutally suppressed by British troops flown from Kenya over South African territory with the permission of Pretoria.

Rich deposits of iron ore have been discovered in Swaziland. Keen interest has been shown in these deposits by Japanese imperialism. Over the heads of the Swazi people and against their interests an agreement has been concluded which it is estimated will result in the delivery of 12 million tons of iron ore to Japan over the next ten years. There are no railway lines in Swaziland at present, but a new line is being constructed to Lourenco Marques to facilitate the delivery of this ore.

Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation is also displaying keen interest in Swaziland and proposes making substantial investments to procure Swazi assets for the benefit of foreign investors.

To a far greater extent than in Basutoland which as stated above has been preserved for the Basuto people, or even Bechuanaland where whites own considerable ranching farms, the richest parts of Swaziland have been alienated by successive African chiefs. The 10,000 whites, mostly South Africans, own approximately 45 per cent of Swaziland. These whites, sympathetic to apartheid and the Nationalist Government across the border, form a substantial reactionary force blocking the road to Swazi independence and democratic self-government, and a dangerous fifth column for Verwoerd. Unfortunately, they are aided and abetted by powerful conservative elements at the court of the Ngwenyama, King Sobhuza, men who place their feudal privileges above the interests of the nation as a whole. Unfortunately too, the liberationist forces in Swaziland have allowed themselves to be divided into a number of splinter organisations, often based on little more than a clash of personalities. It was as a result of these divisions and the consequent confusion that the British and the white settlers, headed by Carel Todd, were able to foist a completely unacceptable plan upon the recent constitutional talks in London. The proposed constitution would give an equal say to the small white minority and to the Swazi themselves. And even then the 'Swazi' side, appointed at the Ngwenyama's court would be wholly unrepresentative of the masses. Such a constitution would have far more in common with apartheid than with the aspirations of the people who demand 'one man, one vote'. The people were not consulted, but they gave their own answer during the general strike last July suppressed by British Highlanders.

The British arrested leaders of the Ngwane Liberation Movement—whom they had not invited to London for their 'constitutional talks'—and their troops are still inside the country hunting for illegal arms and ensuring that there will be no further 'trouble'.

This incident has thrown into sharp relief the British claims that their rule is essentially different from that of Verwoerd. British rule like that of Verwoerd is undemocratic and discriminatory, and rests upon a basis of naked force and violence. All sorts of unlovely apartheid practices from across the border have infected the Swaziland authorities. For example, Indians and other Asians are not allowed residence or property rights in Swaziland, and this rests directly upon old laws dating from the time when Swaziland was administered as a part of Paul Kruger's Transvaal Republic.

In October, 1961, the Resident Commissioner told the 'European Advisory Council,' that the administration would continue to exclude Asian immigrants on the Verwoerdian grounds that 'the existing immigration policy, which is of long standing, provides in effect for the preservation of the existing racial structure of the Territory . . . I have agreed . . . to continue to limit entry to persons belonging to the racial groups which at present comprise the population of the Territory.'

This is merely a tortuous way of saying that Asians will continue to be excluded on racial grounds alone, and in June, 1963, two British barristers, Advocates Bhoola and Kotwai, were refused residence rights. They noted an appeal against this decision but were compelled to leave for Mozambique immediately, pending the appeal.

It is ironical in these circumstances that the Swazi authorities are prepared and anxious to admit Japanese capital. As in the neighbouring Republic, it seems that the authorities are prepared to forget that the Japanese are Asians when they have sufficient money at their disposal.

RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 as a British Dominion with a constitution ensuring perpetual domination for the white minority, the people of the Protectorates refused to contemplate entering this colour-bar state. Smuts and Botha were anxious that they should be incorporated in the Union and succeeded in getting the British to insert a clause in the Act of Union providing for the incorporation of these countries in the Union with the consent of the British government and after 'consultation' with the inhabitants of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. This clause was eyed with profound suspicion by the inhabitants of the territories, for 'consultation' does not mean 'consent'. It would have been quite possible for

Britain to 'consult' the spokesmen of the territories and then even if they were opposed to it to hand them over to the Union without breaking the letter of the law. This, it may be remembered, is precisely what was done in the case of the Protectorate of Nyasaland and the ill-fated 'Central African Federation'. It took much struggle and sacrifice by Nyasa patriots before winning the decision to dissolve this unwanted union in December, 1963.

As the crimes and outrages of successive South African Governments have outraged British and world opinion down the years, it has become more and more difficult for any British government to play the same dirty trick on the people of the High Commission territories in Southern Africa. But the white South African Governments have never abandoned their hopes and claims to incorporate these areas and subject them to their policies of apartheid, white domination and fascism.

The Tomlinson Commission which was appointed by Dr. Verwoerd to work out the theoretical foundations for the apartheid 'Bantustan' policy, worked on the assumption that the Protectorates would be incorporated into South Africa and added to the present so-called 'Bantu homelands'. This would add a very important propaganda weapon to Verwoerd's meagre arsenal. At present the 'homelands' occupy less than 13 per cent of the land area of South Africa—for two-thirds of the population. These figures make a very poor impression on world opinion when the Nationalist Party of South Africa tries to claim that it is making a fair division of the country between the various races which inhabit it. But if Verwoerd were able to add the High Commission territories—including the vast expanses of the Kalahari Desert—to his figure of 'Bantu homelands' it would make a more respectable looking allocation—about 45 per cent. This might impress simple foreigners who do not know that the portion of Southern Africa claimed by the whites includes all the rich and fertile agricultural areas, the mineral wealth, the great cities, ports, power resources and transport development, etc., built up by African sweat and labour on African soil.

South Africa's expulsion from the British Commonwealth because of her apartheid policies, at the insistence of African and Asian Commonwealth members, has made even more unlikely the cession of these territories to the Republic. But the Verwoerd Government has never ceased for a moment its evil designs to swallow up Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, by hook or by crook; by blackmail and economic pressure against Britain and the territories themselves, if the Nationalists can accomplish this; by fifth column penetration and bribery of certain chiefs and individuals who may be prepared to sell their countrymen for a handful of silver; or, if no other means will suffice and they think they can get away with it, by outright military aggression.

There are increasingly urgent compulsions behind this imperialist drive of the Nationalist Government. It is not only a question of a propaganda weapon to present the territories to the outside world as a part of the 'Bantu homelands'. Nor is it only a question of the undoubted appetite of South Africa's finance capitalists to get their hands on the resources and labour supplies of these small countries. Above all, they fear that British imperialism, subjected to powerful pressures from African and Asian Commonwealth members and from world pressure at the United Nations, will be unable for much longer to withstand the demand for freedom and independence of the Bechuana, Swazi and Basuto people.

And, independent Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, under popularly elected governments, and in close alliance with the fraternal peoples of independent Africa and the whole of the United Nations, will pose a powerful challenge to apartheid South Africa, a wonderful example and a beacon of hope for the oppressed non-whites in the Republic. Such a challenge would contribute incalculably to bringing the whole unstable structure of White domination in Southern Africa crashing in ruins. This is the fear and the nightmare of the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship. This is why they cannot and will not cease their ever more threatening words and acts of aggression against the High Commission territories.

In 1961 members of the South African police force illegally entered Basutoland, seized Anderson Ganyile and two other political refugees, and brought them by force across the border to a jail in the Transkei. Only by the skill and courage of Ganyile in smuggling the news of his kidnapping to a representative of the now-suppressed democratic newspaper, *New Age*, and only after a public outcry in Basutoland and Britain had forced the High Commissioner to lodge a formal protest, were the refugees handed back and an apology made by the South African Government.

An almost identical incident took place in August, 1963, when Dr. Ken Abrahams of South-West Africa, a political refugee in Bechuanaland was seized inside Bechuanaland by members of the South African police, kidnapped at gunpoint, driven to South-West Africa and thence flown by military aircraft to Cape Town. Once again the news leaked out. Once again there was an outcry which ended in the return of Dr. Abrahams and his companions to Bechuanaland. But this time there was no apology from South Africa whatever, and the British seemed content to leave it at that.

A fortnight later an East African Airways plane landed at Francistown, in Bechuanaland. It had come to pick up a party of 28 South African political refugees, including Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich, two of the four men who dramatically escaped from Marshall Square, Johannesburg, while imprisoned under Vorster's notorious 'no trial' law. But the plane never took off. It burnt to ashes on the ground before the passengers boarded it. It can hardly be doubted that the fire was caused by time bombs which had been placed in the fuselage of the plane while it stood on the airstrip at Francistown, which is owned by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (a South African company to recruit labour for the gold mines.) The African National Congress has charged that the time bombs exploded 'prematurely' and that their real purpose was to bring about a crash while the plane was in flight and the murder of its passengers. All the circumstances indicate that the operation was carried out by the new 'extermination squad' of the South African Security Police.

In addition to these outright acts of aggression, the authorities in the Republic are exerting mounting pressure against the inhabitants of the High Commission territories. Barbed wire fences have been erected along the borders which are subjected to constant police and military patrols. White farmers along the borders are being enrolled as auxiliary policemen to help stop the infiltration of Protectorate people into the Republic, or of political refugees from it.

The years of criminal neglect by the British colonial authorities and the resulting absence of economic development have exposed Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland to all forms of economic pressure. Already Dr. Verwoerd's Government is making the lives of their people in the Republic unbearable by constant new restrictions on their freedom of movement and employment in South Africa. Many people from the three territories have made invaluable contributions to the economic development of South Africa. But today, they are unceremoniously being told to get out, even though they may have lived for many years and raised their families in South Africa. Only those whose cheap labour is invaluable to the most powerful interests in the Republic—the mines and big capitalist farms—are allowed and encouraged to enter the Republic as migrant contract labourers.

In addition to these pressures, Verwoerd has launched a big new propaganda campaign of aggression against the High Commission territories, which is highly reminiscent of Hitler's hysterical ravings about the Czech Sudetenland in 1938. Speaking at a Nationalist Party rally in

September, 1963, Dr. Verwoerd once again made a new 'takeover bid' for the territories.

'South Africa has no territorial ambitions for these territories,' he said. But he went on to make the outrageous proposal that South Africa should 'under her guidance free them in the same way as she is doing in the Transkei.' At the same time, border control was tightened up and the South African Government withdrew the railway service to Maseru at five days' notice.

Verwoerd in his boorish way was backing up his words with deeds and showing that he has learnt well the tactics which his master, Hitler, practised so well in the Saar, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Spain. All methods have been employed. Threats are backed up with the economic pressures which a powerful neighbour can so easily apply. A fifth column is ready made in Bechuanaland and Swaziland amongst those of the white settlers who long for the automatic privileges of *baasskap* as practised in the Republic. And even in Basutoland elements may be found who are so corrupt or blinded by anti-Communist fanaticism as to connive at the betrayal of their people's liberty. Again as in the case of Hitler, Verwoerd is doing and will do his utmost to play upon the anti-democratic and pro-fascist leanings which are rife amongst the British ruling classes, and their greed for big profits from South African gold and cheap labour, to bring about a new sell-out, a fresh 'Munich' at Pretoria.

THE BRITISH ATTITUDE

The behaviour and conduct of the British authorities in their attitude to the High Commission territories and to the Republic give every reason for grave suspicions that such a sell-out is in fact being contemplated. Britain ignores every fresh outrage and aggression from Verwoerd, and leans over backwards to appease him both in Southern Africa and in international affairs generally. Britain's shabby treatment of political refugees in the High Commission territories, her abject failure to react sharply to the Abrahams kidnapping and the Francistown plane sabotage, or even against Verwoerd's provocative 'take-over bid,' are all completely in line with the Tory government's consistent practical support for the Verwoerd regime which contrasts so strongly with its hypocritical professions of 'abhorrence' for apartheid.

Verwoerd's demand for incorporation of the Protectorates into his infamous 'Bantustan' fraud was met with shocked horror by the people of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. They know full well the vile pass-laws and the degrading treatment of black people in the Republic. And they know very well also, about the so-called 'freedom' in the Transkei, still today ruled under emergency laws which have resulted in the jailing of hundreds of people without trial, and the banishment of chiefs and others who refuse to toe the Government line. The people of the Protectorates have no desire to be brought within the ambit of the Pass Laws, The Sabotage Act and the General Law Amendment Acts of 1963. The much-vaunted 'self-government' which Verwoerd claims to be introducing in the Transkei this year has been rejected by the whole population save for a handful of Government stooges and place-seekers, the Matanzimas and their kind who place their personal advancement before the welfare of their people.

But while the people are angry and indignant at Verwoerd's insolent proposal, they are deeply dismayed at the British government's silence, on the grounds that (though it was made at the Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress) the Verwoerd proposal was 'unofficial'. The world expected—in the face of repeated recent acts of aggression and now this brazen threat of aggression—at least a statement that Britain would never surrender the High Commission territories, backed up by firm action to ensure their defence. No such assurance was forthcoming. On the contrary, the Tory government is daily showing that it is prepared to go to any lengths to appease the South African Government. While South African refugees are hounded, gagged and even expelled, apartheid supporters are free to come and go as they please and do what they like in the High Commission territories, to interfere with, attempt to terrorise and even kidnap British-protected persons and to commit aggressive acts of hooliganism, terror and attempted murder.

Britain's excuse for this appeasement policy is that (as in the notorious case of the deposition of Chief Seretse because his marriage to a white Englishwomen was anathema to the mad racists of South Africa) she dare not do anything in the Protectorates to annoy Pretoria because this would 'not be in the interests of the indigenous population.' And it would, she claims, not be in their interests because they are vulnerable to economic and military blackmail from across the border. These arguments deserve the closest scrutiny.

It is quite true that the three High Commission territories are in a dangerous position in relation to the aggressive imperialist threat from the Republic. This threat is two-fold. It consists firstly of the threat of economic pressures up to and including a blockade and the closing of employment opportunities in the Republic. And it consists secondly of the threat of armed aggression. And there is no doubt that, *at the present time*, the High Commission territories are very vulnerable to both threats. But the questions are: Why is this so? Who is responsible? And what should be done about it? The answers to these questions bring us to the heart of the problem.

Why are these three countries so 'vulnerable' to Verwoerd's blackmail of a proposed blockade? It is precisely because British colonialist rule, all these years and still today is responsible for the appalling underdevelopment and stagnation which makes them so dependent on the Verwoerd Republic for manufactures and jobs. In the year ended March, 1963, the three territories combined were granted a beggarly £280,558 by the British government—something less than 5s. per head per year. And this is no accident. Britain WANTS to keep the H.C. territories poor and backward because that way the Mosotho, Motswana and Swazi is FORCED to leave his home and go to work on the Transvaal and Free State mines in which British capitalists have such heavy investments. And this plain fact has become perfectly clear to the people of the territories themselves. In its letter of September 4, 1963, to the Secretary of State, Sandys, protesting against the scurvy treatment of South African refugees, the Bechuanaland People's Party rejects the argument that the British government is co-operating with the South African government 'in the interests of the people of Bechuanaland.' 'The real reason is that they are protecting the British or . . . the interest of the British mining business in South Africa.'

Take the threat of military aggression. It is correct that Verwoerd has a big modern army, equipped with all the latest weapons, including tanks, aircraft, artillery, etc. Apart from the handful of police and the troops sent to Swaziland to suppress the local people and to deprive them of any arms they may have hidden away, there are no defence forces or military equipment and installations in the High Commission Territories. Since the last war, when African forces from the High Commission territories were recruited, trained and armed to fight for 'freedom and democracy,' NO African forces have been organised, trained or equipped in any of the territories to defend their own soil. So here are the plain facts of the situation:

Across the borders—a big and militarily powerful military machine of the Verwoerd fascists: assisted and to some extent trained by Britain, armed to the teeth with aircraft, including helicopters, tanks, armoured cars, and modern weapons of all kinds. The great bulk of these armaments have been supplied by Britain, the rest are from Britain's NATO allies, paid for with foreign currency Verwoerd gets from huge British investments and British trade. And inside the 'Protectorates'? Peoples kept defenceless—by Britain. Disarmed—by Britain.

And then Her Majesty's Government has the thundering impudence to tell us that it has to kowtow to Verwoerd because of the 'vulnerability' of the territories it has promised to protect and has disarmed and placed at the mercy of Verwoerd's fascist aggression.

Why are Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland (the term 'Protectorate' only properly applies to the last named) known as the 'High Commission' territories? Because they are administered by the British representative in *South Africa*, who used, when South Africa was in the Commonwealth, to be called the *High Commissioner* and is now the U.K. *Ambassador* to South Africa. This position was always anomalous and wrong; today it is intolerable. Because when one and the same person is supposed to be both the governor of three small countries and the Ambassador to a large foreign state there is bound to be a conflict of interest, and the Ambassador is bound to subordinate his responsibilities to the Bechuana, Basuto and Swazi people to his main job (as seen by the Tory Foreign Office in Whitehall) of cultivating good relations with the Republic.

Sir Patrick Dean, British representative at United Nations made it clear during the Security Council debate on South Africa that his Government was more interested in her business interests in South Africa than in the moral turpitude of apartheid, and that Britain intended to defy the Council's embargo on arms supplies to the Republic. And the present Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Hugh Stephenson, addressing the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce on September 13, 1963, underlined the lesson. The Verwoerd regime had recently been committing one provocative and aggressive act after another against the peoples Britain is supposed to be 'protecting'. If foreign policemen elsewhere had illegally entered British territory and kidnapped people who had been granted asylum, can you imagine how the British lion would roar! But, in the interests of Big Business, Sir Hugh is prepared to swallow all the dirt Verwoerd and Louw shovel out to him. Instead of a roar, he bleated like a lamb and cooed like a turtle dove. Appealing for greater British investments in South Africa he told his audience that Britain had more investments in South Africa than in any other country except the United States. Trade was increasing—last year Britain supplied £155 million worth of goods, over 30 per cent of the Republic's total imports, and bought 28 per cent of all the Republic's exports. 'To only six countries in the world did we sell more,' boasted Sir Hugh.

The blunt fact is that—whatever pious platitudes they utter before world opinion 'deploring' apartheid, *the British Goverment and the British ruling classes are the main force propping up and supporting the apartheid, white supremacy regime in South Africa today*. They support it because apartheid means cheap labour, and cheap African labour is the source from which the British imperialist bourgeoisie derive their vast profits from South African investment and trade. They are sleeping partners in apartheid.

It is amazing to find people in the High Commission territories, even today, who hesitate to demand immediate independence on the grounds that Britain is defending the African people against being overrun by Verwoerd. Whom is Britain defending? Where is she defending us? She is defending Verwoerd, not us.

In reality not only will Britain not defend us, she is actively helping our enemies by tying our hands and preventing the Basuto, Bechuana and Swazi people preparing to defend themselves against South African aggression. British rule is wrong and bad in principle, for all peoples have the right to rule their own countries. But in the 'Protectorates' British rule is not only immoral and unprincipled. British rule has brought the people into terrible danger. Continued British rule would be suicidal; it is handing us over, bound hand and foot, to the greatest enemy of the African people, the evil monster of apartheid.

The people are in a dangerous position; but the position is not hopeless. In spite of all the handicaps British colonialism has imposed upon the High Commission territories, the peoples can and will fight back against the threat from Pretoria. None of them was ever conquered by anyone in the past. And they will not be conquered today, for they have millions of powerful friends, in Africa, throughout the world and—not least—within the Republic itself among the majority of oppressed people. We shall fight back to preserve our countries, our people and Africa.

But the first, desperately important step, is to unite now for independence from British rule.

HOW TO DEFEND THE TERRITORIES

Independent Lesotho, Bechuanaland and Swaziland can and will defend themselves successfully against Verwoerd's threat of political economic and military aggression, against fifth column activities by his hirelings and agents, against blockade and outright invasion. How can this be done?

Given unity and determination of the people to resist, given independence under popularly elected African governments on the basis of one man or woman, one vote, speedy and effective measures will be put into effect.

The three countries will join the United Nations and the community of independent African states, thus forming powerful alliances with the outside world. They will appeal for and undoubtedly receive massive and effective aid and low-interest loans to enable their economies to sever their dependence on the Republic, and provide ample employment for all.

They will establish patriotic and adequately armed defence forces, knowing every inch of the soil and close to the masses of the people, which will be able to inflict a stinging rebuff on any violations of their territory, their sovereignty, or their means of access to the outside world. (Only a foreign government like the British would tolerate the arrogant edict of the South African authorities preventing aircraft entering or leaving Basutoland in particular, and the other two territories as well to some extent, without submitting to inspection by the South African police!)

Given these conditions—and they are not impossible or even difficult, today, of attainment, the hated Verwoerd regime will not dare to lay a finger on the three territories. But if they *are* to be attained—and there is no other way to avoid the tragedy of incorporation as 'Bantustans'—the people of the three territories must awake at once to the terrible menace that faces them and unite at once to meet it.

Unity now! That must be our watchword. Any politician, who from reasons of personal likes and dislikes, abstract ideological differences, or plain confusion is opposing a national united front of liberation and independence; a front of national salvation, is objectively betraying country and the people.

One final word. The future of the Swazi, Bechuana and Sotho people is inextricably bound up with that of their kith and kin, the oppressed majority in the Republic itself. True freedom for these peoples can never be won until the evil minority regime of hatred and blood is overthrown in Pretoria, and we all join in a free, prosperous, happy and united Southern Africa, a democratic African state. The people of the Protectorates know this full well, and their hearts are all with the heroic freedom-fighters of South Africa in their titanic struggle against Verwoerd's brutal oppression.

The best contribution the Bechuana, Basuto and Swazi people can make to that struggle (which is also their own struggle) is to seize the opportunity history has given them to make their countries fortresses of independence, democratic African government and progress in the heart of Apartheid South Africa.

In that great task they will have the boundless goodwill and concrete assistance of hundreds of millions of people in Africa and throughout the world. And, not least, of their brothers and sisters in the Republic.

LAND RELATIONS IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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AGRICULTURE IS THE main sphere of material production in all African countries. It is generally recognised that all African countries, excepting the Republic of South Africa, belong to the group of under-developed agrarian countries. It is impossible to define the exact share of agriculture in the total annual output because of the predominance of the subsistence economy, and the almost total absence of statistics on this phase of labour. As a rule, the available statistics underestimate the share of agricutural output. Some idea about the role of agriculture in African economies can be gained from the data on the distribution of rural and urban population. Though in the past 20 years there has been considerable movement from villages to towns, nevertheless the rural population in various countries still constitutes from 67 per cent in Egypt (1957) to 96 per cent in Togo (1956). Only in South Africa is the urban population nearly half (46.6 per cent in 1951) of the whole population.[1]

Peasants constitute the bulk of direct producers in African agriculture. The share of large capitalist production in the agricultural output is small, and what there is belongs principally to foreign companies or European settlers. In the great majority of African countries, the class differentiation of the peasantry is still insignificant. Agricultural labourers or proletarians who have broken all their ties with the land are few in number. Therefore land relations are linked directly with the vital interests of the vast majority of the population.

All African countries which have won political independence face the urgent task of reconstructing and developing their agriculture. The rapidity with which this task can be implemented depends largely on the prevailing land relations, which may either hamper or contribute to the development of agriculture. The reorganization and upsurge of agriculture are organically linked with the general task of liquidating economic backwardness and dependence. Therefore the question of providing the direct producer—the peasant—with land, and the question of forms of land ownership and land tenure merit the most careful study. At the same time it must be said that this is a very difficult task. The intricate interdependence of diverse forms of land ownership (state, communal, and private) and of land tenure is characteristic of Africa. The available literature does not give an answer to many questions. This article therefore represents only a first attempt to summarise the available material—a programme for research rather than its result.

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[1] United Nations, *Economic Survey of Africa since 1950* (New York, 1959), p. 14.

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The problem of providing the direct producer with land has two different aspects. V. I. Lenin distinguished two kinds of land monopolies, 'the monopoly of land ownership based on property rights and the monopoly of land economy'.[2] Monopoly of the second kind means that all land is taken up by individual farms, so that the establishment of new farms or expansion of the area of the existing ones is impossible, because of the lack of vacant land. Monopoly of this kind demands special study, which should, moreover, be related to definite areas. Here we shall confine ourselves to general remarks.

If we take the whole of the African continent then the average density of population is 20 persons per sq. km.[1] In comparison with Europe, this is very low; in France, for instance, the density of population is 80, and in England more than 200 per sq. km. But in Africa the average density is not characteristic. Egypt is a striking example: the average density of population, calculating the entire territory, is 25 persons per sq. km., but in the cultivated oasis zone the density exceeds 700.

In Morocco the farm lands, including forests, pastures and areas under alpha-grass, account for 48 per cent of the entire country, the remaining 52 per cent being unfit for farming.[3] In Algeria there are 47 million hectares of farm lands (or 20 per cent of the whole country), of which 39 million hectares are meadows and pastures. A little more than 3 per cent of all the land is ploughed.[1] In Libya, out of the whole territory of 175 million hectares, only 15 million can now be considered productive, but of this area only about half a million hectares can be used as arable land.[2]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, v, pp. 104-5.

[2] 1 sq. km. equals 0.375 square miles approx.
1 hectare equals 2.47 acres approx.

[3] F. Joly, A. Ayach, G. Fardel, and L. Suesh, *Geography of Morocco* (Moscow, 1951), p. 120.

The literature on this question reveals great confusion in such concepts as 'agricultural', 'arable', 'tilled', and 'cultivable' land. That is why the published statistics demand critical analysis, comparison, and verification.

Vast spaces of the African continent consist of deserts, marsh-ridden lands, and impassable tropical forests. In some tropical countries a considerable area is affected by the tsetse fly to such a degree that people cannot live there. In certain regions of Africa there is an acute need for land suitable for farming, but in the great majority of countries there is no shortage of such land. In tropical Africa, the areas under agricultural crops constitute only a small percentage of all the land available. It should also be remembered that some lands, unsuitable for farming today, may be suitable tomorrow. Thus, for instance, the construction of the Aswan Dam, implemented with the aid of the Soviet Union, will at once increase the area of tilled land in the United Arab Republic by one-third. At present tropical Africa still makes widespread use of the system of shifting agriculture, which means that large areas of land cannot be cultivated for many years at a time. Transition to a rational system of crop rotation will enable Africans to enlarge the area under cultivation considerably.

The African peasantry do not suffer so much from shortage of suitable land, as from colonial enslavement, and from its far-from-liquidated survivals in countries where Africans have already restored their state sovereignty. One of the manifestations of colonialism is inequality in the right to possess land. And here we come to the other aspect of monopoly of land, 'the monopoly of land ownership based on property rights', which is the essence of land relations.

The colonization of Africa by the European imperialist powers was accompanied by land expropriation for the benefit of European settlers, mining, and plantation companies. The extent of land expropriation in various countries was determined by geographical and socio-economic factors, the character of colonization, and the degree of resistance of the aboriginal population. The peasantry of those countries which were converted into settlers' colonies fared the worst. This means in the first place South Africa, and to a lesser degree British colonies in Central and East Africa, Portuguese colonies, and French colonies in North Africa.

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[1] N. A. Kravets, *Algeria. Supplement to the 'Algeria' Map* (Moscow, 1960), p. 2.

[2] United Nations, *A General Economic Appraisal of Libya* (New York, 1952), pp. 1, 9.

The European population in the Republic of South Africa (2.9 million) comprises one-fifth of the country‘s entire population (13.9 million in 1956). About one-fifth of the gainfully employed European population is engaged in agriculture (including forestry and fishing). Among Europeans engaged in farming, one can meet landowners, leaseholders, farm hands with allotments, and proletarians. It is charactersitic to find a tremendous concentration of land ownership in the hands of a small group of big European landlords. In 1947 6 per cent of the landlords, each having more than 3,000 morgen,[1] possessed 43 per cent of the land belonging to Europeans. In addition, there were many small landowners and landless farmers.

In some cases by force of arms, in others by deceit, the European colonialists seized almost all the land. By the time the Union of South Africa came into existence in 1910 the African aboriginal population had at its disposal only 7.83 per cent of the area of the country, the so-called reserves. Today, as the result of the purchase of more land by the Native Trust Fund and some other measures, this percentage has risen to 12.[2] Enormous masses of peasants are left totally without land; and those who have been driven into the reserves suffer from land hunger.

At present the African peasantry in the Republic may be divided into four groups. The first group (about half of the entire population) consists of peasants in the reserves, in most of which communal land ownership is preserved. The second group (approximately 6 per cent of the whole rural African population) comprises peasants, living outside the reserves on land which constitutes their collective or private property. The third group (nearly 5 per cent of the African population) is made up of peasants living on land belonging to Missions, Crown lands, and European private land, which is not cultivated by the owners. These peasants lease the land, for which they pay a money rent. The fourth group (about 40 per cent of the entire African rural population) consists of peasants living on farms and plantations owned by Europeans. As a rule, these are big capitalist concerns, where the capitalist hiring system is intertwined with statutory labour requirements and outright corvée. The African farm hand with an allotment is a typical figure here.[1]

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[1] One morgen equals 0.85 of a hectare.

[2] A. B. Davidson, 'Apartheid—a System of Racial Enslavement', in the symposium *Race Discrimination in African Countries* (Moscow, 1960), p. 36.

Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa and Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, No. 2, 1948 (Pretoria, 1950), p. 848.

Southern Rhodesia, like the South African Republic, was to become a colony of settlers, but there was a smaller flow of settlers to Southern Rhodesia. In 1956 the population of European descent comprised only 7.8 per cent of the country's total population (178,000 out of 2,481,000). Nearly 13 per cent of the gainfully employed European population is engaged in farming. There are no data concerning its class structure. However, it is known that 7.7 per cent of European landowners possess 52 per cent of all the land belonging to Europeans. On the average, the size of an estate of this group is over 16,000 hectares. Judging by some indirect evidence it may be presumed that side by side with the big capitalist farm owners there are many poor farmers.[2]

Land of all sorts secured for the aboriginal population of Southern Rhodesia comprises a little over one-half of the country's entire land area. It is impossible however to define in statistical figures the extent to which the African peasants are provided with land. In the first place one must take into consideration the land's economic value. In the opinion of the Southern Rhodesian research worker B. Y. Mnyanda the reservations 'are absolutely useless for the purpose of settling there and securing food for local inhabitants, as they are deprived of water and fertile lands. The soil there is stony and sandy.'[3] The best land has been grabbed by Europeans. One must bear in mind that the majority of African peasants still practise the shifting system of agriculture, which requires large areas of land. African peasants are unable to maintain themselves and their families on the land which is at their disposal. The proof of that is the mass migration to cities and mining centres. Over 200,000 Africans work on farms and plantations belonging to Europeans, most of them employed as farm hands, with allotments.

Some significant facts have been published in a United Nations report, which found that 78 per cent of the money income of African peasants in Southern Rhodesia was earned income not derived from their own farms.[4] In Southern Rhodesia two-thirds of the best land in the country was seized by Europeans. The bulk of this land is concentrated in the hands of a small group of the richest landlords; only 3 per cent of European privately held land is being cultivated. The land robbed from Africans remains vacant, while the Africans suffer from want of land. To keep alive they are compelled to work for European capitalists.

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[1] For further details about agrarian relations in the South African Republic see:

I. I. Potekhin, *Formation of the National Commune of the South African Bantu* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 122-38.

[2] L. D. Yablochkov, 'The Aboriginal Population of British Central Africa' in *The African Ethnographic Symposium*, II (Moscow, 1958), p. 116.

[3] B. Y. Mnyanda, *In Search of Truth* (Bombay, 1954), p. 65.

[4] United Nations, *Enlargement of the Exchange Economy in Tropical Africa* (New York, 1954), p. 26.

The Maghreb—Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia—is another part of Africa where mass expropriations of land took place. The sufferings of the peasantry in Algeria, where European companies and colonialists owned 2.7 million hectares of the best land,[1] were particularly great. The aboriginal population feels the acute shortage of land, and a considerable proportion of Algerians have no land at all. In 1946 the colonial administration admitted that nearly 500,000 families had no land; by 1956 the number of landless peasant families had grown to 625,000, which comprised approximately one-third of the country's whole aboriginal population. The landless peasants work in enterprises belonging to Europeans, make up the huge army of unemployed, or flee to France in search of work.

To justify their unwillingness to grant Algerians the right to national self-determination, the French imperialists asserted that it would be detrimental to the interests of French colonialist landowners. But it is well known that nine-tenths of the land taken away from Algerians is concentrated in the hands of a small group of big landowners, each possessing from 50 to 100 or more hectares. Some European estates have from 3,000 to 5,000 hectares, and some of them employ up to 2,000 farm labourers. Consequently the French imperialists speak not of the interests of colonialists in general, but of the big landowners' interests.[2]

When the independence of Morocco was proclaimed, one million hectares, or one-fifteenth of all the arable land, belonged to foreigners. If we take only cultivated land, then the foreigners owned one-eighth of it. This included the best maritime land, held primarily by big landowners (900 of them, who had more than 300 hectares each, owned 60 per cent of all the land seized by Europeans).[3] In 1949 the foreigners residing in Tunisia had 20 per cent of the country's cultivated land (760,000 out of 3.8 million hectares).[4] In 1949 the Italian colonialists in Libya had 224,000 hectares of cultivated land.[1] There is very little land in Libya that is fit for agriculture. Deserts occupy approximately 98 per cent of its territory. The people's main occupation is cattle breeding. At the present stage of irrigation agriculture is possible only in the coastal area, which is farmed mainly by Italian settlers.

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[1] Larbi Bukhali, 'Algeria belongs to Algerians', in *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, 2 (Moscow, 1958), p. 64.

[2] *Agriculture and Peasantry in Colonies and other Under-developed Countries* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 80-2, 137-9; N. G. Pospelova, *Algeria* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 22-3.

[3] A. Ayach, *Morocco. Results of One Colonisation* (Moscow, 1958), p. 182.

[4] N. A. Ivanov, *Modern Tunisia* (Moscow, 1959), p. 41.

The geographical conditions in tropical Africa are less favourable for European settlers. There is little or no permanent European population engaged in agriculture; Kenya, with its high mountain area, which seems to attract the European population, is an exception. There were 46,000 Europeans in Kenya in 1954. The European colonialists and companies owned only 7 per cent of all the land, but it should be kept in mind that a considerable part of Kenya's territory was totally unfit for human habitation. Land belonging to Europeans now is concentrated in a mountainous district, where the majority of the peasants are landless. As a rule, the European landowners in Kenya have been big farmers and planters, exploiting the labour of African peasants dispossessed of land. There are also several vast estates (100,000 hectares each and more)[2] which belong to plantation companies and private persons.

In the former Belgian Congo the European colonialists and companies had 20 million hectares of land, or 9 per cent of the entire territory. However, these 20 million hectares included some huge agricultural concessions where African peasants continued to live and work. It is difficult to define just how much land has been expropriated for the benefit of Europeans. In 1955, there were 2,865,000 hectares in the Congo under crops, of which the European companies and colonialists owned 399,000 hectares, or 14 per cent.[3]

Not enough is known concerning the extent of European land ownership in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. There are big European concessions in these colonies, European farmers and planters. Many African farmers have been deprived of land, but it is not possible to determine the exact number.

There is no colony which escaped land expropriation for the benefit of the colonialists and where the African peasants were not driven off the land which was theirs since time immemorial. In some colonies all lands were declared to be owned by the corresponding imperialist powers. This gave the colonial authorities the 'legal' basis for expropriating any land at any time. But in many colonies, particularly in West Africa, the scale of land expropriation was comparatively small and has not resulted in any considerable disposition of peasants' land.

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[1] United Nations, *A General Economic Appraisal of Libya* (New York, 1952), p. 10.

[2] For greater detail on land expropriation in Kenya see:
R. N. Ismagilova, 'The Peoples of Kenya under the Colonial Regime', in *The African Ethnographic Symposium*, 1 (Moscow, 1956), pp. 118-219.

[3] V. A. Martynov, *Congo under the Yoke of Imperialism* (Moscow, 1959), p. 10.

Private feudal land ownership is another kind of land ownership. It includes also the church and monastery lands, in so far as the conditions for using them by the direct producers do not differ substantially from those for using the landlords' lands. The relations between the European landowners and African peasants in many regions of Africa are very near to or even identical with feudalism, but these lands have been classed by us separately. Here we shall consider only lands belonging to African landowners. The Maghreb countries, with Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Uganda, constitute the region where this kind of land ownership prevails.

In 1949, before the land reforms in Egypt, there were 2,706,000 Egyptian and 3,800,000 foreign landowners. The latter owned 233,000 feddans (one feddan=0.42 hectare) or less than 3 per cent of the country's total land area. Of all Egyptian landowners, 1,959,000 or 72 per cent had less than one feddan. They owned only 15 per cent of the land area. The bulk of the land belonged to landlords, some of whom possessed more than 2,000 hectares. The land-hungry peasants leased land from the landlords, or worked as farm hands on their estates, cruelly exploited and leading a beggarly life.[1]

In Morocco big landowners, possessing several hundreds and even thousands of hectares of land, owned one-quarter of all the cultivated land,[2] whereas the landless peasants, share-croppers, and farm labourers comprised in 1952 more than half of the rural population.[3] In Algeria the aboriginal population owns 7,672,000 hectares; of this total area, 24 per cent belongs to small landowners, whose average farm is 4.7 hectares, and who account for 74 per cent of the number of landowners; and 21 per cent belongs to only 1 per cent of the landowners, who have on an average 282 hectares of land each.[4]

We were unable to determine the total figures of the landlords' estates in Tunisia. There are landlords possessing from 4,000 to 5,000 hectares of land. Before proclaiming Tunisia's independence the Muslim religious establishments owned 1.6 million hectares (the so-called *khabus* lands).[1] Of the 1.8 million rural population on the eve of the Second World War more than one million were landless peasants and farm labourers.[2] In 1956, 80 per cent of peasants had no land.[3]

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[1] A. Ayrout, *Fellahs d'Egypte* (Cairo, 1952).

[2] A. Ayach, *Morocco*, p. 364.

[3] N. S. Loutskaya, *Again Morocco Gains Its Independence* (Moscow, 1958), p. 42.

[4] *Cahiers Internationaux*, 64 (1954), p. 48.

Ethiopia is a country of large-scale feudal land ownership; but there are no agrarian statistics, therefore it is impossible to express land relations in figures. Formally all the land is owned by the Emperor, but actually the major part belongs to private secular feudal lords and monasteries.

In Buganda private feudal land ownership for Africans was established by English colonialists. In 1900 they concluded a protectorate agreement with the Kabaka, the feudal chief of Buganda. According to this agreement, the Kabaka appropriated 100,000 hectares of land, his mother 4,000, and four princes 2,000 hectares each. His other relatives received in all nearly 25,000 hectares. The Kabaka's Ministers and deputies received as gifts some large estates and were granted others for temporary use. Today 230 big landowners have at their disposal almost three-quarters of the entire country. Most of the peasants have lost their rights to own land and become leaseholders.[4]

There is much in common between these two kinds of land ownership, the European and African private feudal: in both cases the direct producer is deprived of the right of land ownership and gives to the landowner, in return for the right of making use of the land, part of the produce of his labour in money or in kind. Still there is also quite a substantial difference between these kinds of land ownership. For instance, their origin is different. European land ownership is the direct result of the establishment of the colonial regime. African landlord ownership arose (with the exception of Buganda) before the era of colonization, as a result of the spontaneous historical development of the given society. Its tie with colonialism is expressed only in the fact that colonial authorities protected the landlords' rights and privileges from the masses of people exploited by them, and the landlords, in their turn, served as social pillars of the colonialists. Basically, European land ownership is bourgeois, but local landlords' ownership is feudal. The methods of their liquidation also vary. European land ownership may be liquidated as the result of victory in the anti-imperialist revolution, in which local landlords sometimes also take part. The liquidation of local landlords' ownership is connected with the anti-feudal revolution.

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[1] *La Tunisie au travail. Publication du secretariat d'etat à l'information du gouvernement tunisien* (1960), p. 80. N. A. Ivanov's book *Modern Tunisia* gives another figures of *khabus* lands, 700,000 hectares of land, p. 43.

[2] N. A. Ivanov, *Modern Tunisia*, p. 45.

[3] R. A. Ulyanovski, 'Agrarian Reforms in Lands of Asia', in *Problems of Oriental Studies*, 1(Moscow, 1961), p. 16.

[4] *Peoples of Africa* (Moscow, 1954), p. 446.

State feudal land ownership is the third kind of land ownership. Its most characteristic feature is the coincidence of the rent with the tax, when the direct producer pays no rent, only the tax.[1] It is extremely difficult to define the regions where this category of land ownership exists, because of the existence of so many transitional forms from communal to feudal land ownership, and from state to private feudal ownership.

The most typical example of state feudal land ownership can be seen in the Muslim emirates of Northern Nigeria. British colonialists set an example in Nigeria of the application of the 'indirect rule' policy. Before the colonial regime was established there were several feudal principalities in existence. Most of them offered no resistance to the colonialists; the feudal chiefs voluntarily accepted the British protectorate, and the British Government pledged itself to protect their rights and privileges. A political alliance was concluded between British imperialism and African feudal lords for the purpose of the joint exploitation of the masses of the people. Where feudal states had not yet been formed, individual feudal princes and chiefs of tribes turned into the agents of British colonial policy and became an integral part of the colonial administration. In compliance with the British colonial legislation they began to be called 'Native Authorities'. Lugard, the Governor-General of Nigeria, who established the system of indirect administration there, said on several occasions: 'There are no two sets of rulers, British and Native, working either separately or in co-operation, but a single Government, in which the Native Chiefs have well-defined duties and acknowledged status equally with the British officials.'[2]

Before proclaiming its independence Northern Nigeria had 119 Native Authorities, ranging in size from several thousand people to over two million. Let us take as an example the Kano Emirate. The Emir stood at the head of 2.5 million subjects. In theory he was elected, but then a candidate for the post of Emir could only be a member of the reigning family (the eldest son, brother, etc.). Furthermore, the members of the electoral committee were appointed by the Emir himself with the approval of the British Resident. In actual fact the Emir was an hereditary feudal ruler. The Emirate was divided into 24 districts, the heads of which were appointed by the Emir. In 1951, 13 of the district heads were members of the Emir's family.[1]

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[1] K. Marx, *Capital*, III (1955), p. 804.

[2] Quoted from R. L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, I (New York, 1928), p. 688.

At the Emir's disposal there were all the attributes of state power: police, courts, jails, and the budget. He was a sovereign ruler to his subjects, but in regard to the British Governor he was a puppet, who implicitly did what he was told to do; thus British imperialists became accomplices in a typically feudal form of exploitation.

Systems similar to this one arose in Western Nigeria, in Barotseland (Northern Rhodesia),[2] and in some French colonies of tropical Africa (Upper Volta and the northern regions of Cameroun). As pointed out already, it is difficult to define the regions where this sort of land ownership has been established. With some exceptions we can attribute it to all land and direct administration of which the colonial powers have given over to chiefs of tribes.

Until now the level of socio-economic development of the peoples of tropical and southern Africa has not been fully studied. The specific features of the historical development of African peoples (the slave trade, etc.) have given birth to some peculiar forms—not very clear to this day—of the transition from the pre-class era to the class society. Attempts to apply our habitual European evaluation do not give reliable results. Considerable work on the pre-colonial history of individual nations and countries is needed, inasmuch as ignorance of the level of social and economic development of African peoples prevents the research worker from understanding correctly the colonial regime's influence on the development of land relations.

However, it may be considered that as a rule, with the permission and protection of the colonial powers, the tribal chiefs (whether traditional or appointed in this case does not matter) were actually administrators of the land which had not been expropriated for the benefit of the Europeans. The forms and methods of the implementation of the chiefs' authority over the land were quite varied. They varied not only between one colony and another, but also between different regions and tribes in one colony. But with all this diversity the common factor was that chiefs made use of their power over land to enrich themselves and to exploit their kinsmen. In some cases, besides extracting the tax established by the colonial powers, they collected also the feudal rent, in work, in cash, or in kind. In other cases the tax was the only form of rent. In all cases the colonial power took part in the division of the feudal levy collected from the peasants, i.e. they acted in the role of a feudal ruler of land. From this point of view it makes no difference whether the land was formally declared the property of the colonial power or not.

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[1] Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Colonies*, Part III (London, 1951).

[2] Regarding feudal relations in Barotseland see:
I. A. Svanidze, 'Agriculture and Land Relations of the Barotse People', in *Soviet Ethnography*, 5 (Moscow, 1961).

In almost all African countries communal land ownership has been preserved to this day (Egypt, perhaps, is the only exception). Communal land ownership in itself does not determine the mode of production in agriculture, since this form of land ownership exists also in the primitive communal system, in the slave-owning and feudal societies and even in the preliminary stages of capitalism. However, what is typical for the capitalist mode of production is not communal, but bourgeois private land ownership. 'That form of landed property which the capitalist mode of production meets in its first stages', Karl Marx pointed out in *Capital*, 'does not suit its requirements. It creates for itself that form of property in land which is adapted to its requirements, by subordinating agriculture to the dominion of capital. It transforms feudal landed property, tribal property, small peasants' property in land communes, whatever may be their legal form, into the economic form corresponding to the requirements of capitalism.'[1]

The future destinies of communal land ownership depend on what route of development African countries will follow: capitalist or non-capitalist. The existence of communal land by itself does not decide this question yet, though the degree of preservation or disintegration of communal land relations may substantially influence this decision. Marx wrote that the dualism of rural communities, the existence of collective land ownership together with private production on the land, 'allows an alternative: either the proprietary element will vanquish in it the collective element, or the latter will gain the upper hand over the former'.[2]

If we are to examine the developing tendencies of African peasant economies on communal lands during recent decades, then we may arrive at a definite conclusion: the proprietary principle is beginning to prevail over the collective principle. This is shown in the growth of social differentiation among the peasantry and the emergence of capitalist elements, in the development of mortgages, rent, and the purchase and sale of land. However, what is important is to ask how far this process of disintegration of the peasantry and separation of land ownership from the agricultural economy has gone? It is difficult to answer this question because of the imperfection or total absence of statistics not only for Africa as a whole, but also for individual countries. Therefore we may use as the basis for our judgment only separate, unco-ordinated, frequently quite accidental data, and indirect evidence.

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[1] K. Marx, *Capital*, III, p. 630.

[2] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, XXVII, p. 695.

The money economy has already penetrated into African villages. But then we must take into consideration the following circumstances. In the first place the average *per capita* annual income in the village is very small. According to United Nations figures relating to the beginning of the 1950's, even in Ghana, where the exchange economy was more advanced than in any other country of tropical Africa, the average income per head equalled only $45;[1] assuming that on the average a family consisted of five persons, we get $225 per year for the whole family. The earnings of a farm labourer in an enterprise belonging to the colonial authorities in 1953-54 ranged between 4s. 3d. and 4s. 9d. a day,[2] which makes about £70 or $200 a year. The average peasant family thus had a money income equal to the earnings of a farm labourer. But this is an average income, which may conceal wide variations due to property differentiation. It is quite obvious (without taking into account the subsistence part of the economy) that the money incomes of the absolute majority of peasants are considerably lower than farm labourers' earnings.

Secondly, it is necessary to take into account the uneven development of the money economy in various countries. According to the same United Nations source, the average annual income of the peasant in countries of French Equatorial Africa was only $6, in Kenya $8, and in Tanganyika $9. Thus we see that great masses of African peasants are still little affected by the development of the exchange economy.

And finally, analysing the money incomes of the African peasantry, we ought to differentiate between the incomes received from the sale of their own farm produce and incomes earned from outside sources, e.g. money earned by migratory labourers. It is here that we meet with striking facts. Again according to the United Nations figures, 95 per cent of the incomes of peasants in Northern Rhodesia were the earnings of migratory labourers,[3] in Southern Rhodesia the figure was 78 per cent, in Kenya 73 per cent, in the Belgian Congo 55 per cent, etc. Thus the growth of money incomes in African villages cannot be considered as evidence of the development of production for the market.

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[1] United Nations, *Enlargement of the Exchange Economy*, p. 26.

[2] Gold Coast Government, *Report of the Ministry of Labour for the Year 1953-1954* (Accra, 1955), p. 25.

[3] This calculation corresponds with the official figures for the distribution of national income in Northern Rhodesia in 1959, when the proportion of peasants' money income received from the sale of agricultural produce was 5.3 per cent. *National Accounts of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1954-1959* (Salisbury, 1960).

There may still be a 'natural' subsistence economy, although the family has money earned from outside.

Undoubtedly the African rural community already includes a stratum of planters and rich peasants, managing their farms on a capitalist basis. It is they who have in their hands the main bulk of the output of commodities. We can hardly speak of the African peasantry as of some homogeneous mass of people, undifferentiated in class structure. There is no such peasantry in Africa. But at the same time it is unquestionable that the peasant economy of most African countries remains fundamentally a subsistence economy, and that the great majority of peasants are petty peasantry, for whom a beggarly, semi-starving mode of life is characteristic.

The development of the money economy and the emergence of capitalist elements could not but be reflected in the norms of land ownership. However no radical break-up of the communal order has taken place yet. The main land tracts are still owned by peasant communities.

The methods of using communal land are distinguished by exceptional multiformity. They are determined by many geographical and social factors: the density of population, the type of cultivated crops, the degree of preservation of clan relations, the degree of development of the money economy and capitalist relations, etc.

Many regions still preserve the 'free' form of land tenure, in which the peasant may cultivate any plot of land after obtaining the permission of the village elder or the clan chief. In the recent past such an order of things was characteristic of most regions of tropical Africa. In some cases the violation of this was caused by the growing density of population, in others by the introduction of perennial export crops, and in yet other cases by both.

The customs typical of the classic communal system of land tenure, especially the regular redistribution of land allotments, are almost unknown in these regions. In the densely populated areas the communal authorities regulate somehow the distribution of cultivated land, but there is no practice of regularly redistributing allotments. Perhaps only in Ethiopia are communal lands redistributed after definite intervals in time. In most countries we witness a direct transition from the 'free' form of land tenure to the conversion of tilled plots into hereditary holdings.

A considerable role in this transition is played by perennial crops, which in the last few decades have become widespread. The planting of perennial crops (cocoa, coffee, etc.) naturally converts the land planted with them into a hereditary holding. This is one of many ways of converting communal land into private ownership. According to customary law, the owner of such a plot makes use of it during his lifetime, and can hand it down as inheritance, but has no right to sell it. However, he can sell the trees grown on his land. Here the economic content of the transaction comes into conflict with the norms of customary law and gradually undermines it. The development of suburban farms is another method of converting communal land into private ownership. This, as a rule, requires intensive farming. The land has to be fertilized and cultivated each year. Here customary law is powerless against capitalism's economic laws: such land plots are sold and bought. Nevertheless a great number of diverse restrictions is preserved: in almost every case the permission of the village elder or the head of the clan is required. Sometimes it is necessary to have the consent of all the relatives. In many regions the sale of land to non-members of the given community is prohibited. The top stratum of the clan or tribe stubbornly resists the sale and purchase of land, which undermines the economic basis of their domination over their tribesmen. Colonial legislation did not recognize till lately any transactions in communal land. Only recently have the colonial authorities found it possible to make some concessions to the capitalist elements in African villages.

Private ownership of land by peasants has become widespread in a number of countries. In Egypt it is the prevailing form of ownership. In the Maghreb countries, in Ethiopia, and in the northern part of the Sudan, there are now large numbers of peasants who are private landowners. Private ownership of land exists also among peasants in tropical and southern Africa. There are several different ways in which this form of private ownership has come about. In South Africa, until the 1913 land law was adopted, African peasants had the right to purchase land from the Boer and British landowners, i.e. in reality to redeem the land that was taken away from them by the colonialists. Some Africans made use of this right, and now their lands comprise nearly 5 per cent of the area of the country. The sale of land to African peasants is also practised in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Kenya. Even as far back as 1930 a law was passed in Southern Rhodesia (Land Apportionment Act, No. 30 of 1930, amended in 1941 and 1950) under which a special fund was created—nearly two million hectares—for sale to Africans. By the close of 1950 Africans had purchased 2,637 plots of land, the average size of which was 88 hectares.[1] By 1955 there were already 5,000 African farmers, owning land outside the reserves. On an average each farmer had 70 hectares. However, that was not yet full ownership.

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[1] Lord Hailey, *An African Survey. Revised, 1956* (London, 1957), pp. 779-80.

The forced destruction of the communal system of land ownership by the colonial administration was another method of securing private land ownership for the peasants. In some South African reserves the entire plough-land was divided into small allotments and transferred on certain terms into the peasants' possession. Today the forced destruction of communal ownership is taking place in Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. As far back as 1951 a law was passed in Southern Rhodesia (the Native Land Husbandry Act) according to which the land allotments in the reserves must be secured for those who till them.[1] These are countries in which there are European colonists, and where, consequently, masses of peasants were deprived of land. Here the colonial authorities interfered actively in land relations with the aim of mitigating somewhat a sharp agrarian crisis.

As for the countries where the masses of the African population were not deprived of land—and such countries constitute a majority—the colonial administration interfered very little in the land affairs of the aboriginal population. However, in these countries too, efforts were made to shift from communal to private land ownership. In the French colonies, under a law of 1906, a peasant could get a certificate for a plot cultivated by him and thus make it his property. It is true that very few people wanted to make use of this right.[2] Peasant private property was introduced on the irrigated lands of the interior delta of the Niger River, which was under the French government organization, *Office du Niger*,[3] now nationalized by the Mali Republic Government. Analogous attempts were made also by the Belgian authorities in the Congo, where the so-called *paysanate* system was introduced. By January 1, 1955, 135,000 allotments had been distributed to Congolese peasants.[4]

Peasant private land ownership exists in all African countries. It is impossible to define its extent; however, we may contend with certainty that this aspect of land ownership has not spread yet to any considerable degree.

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Such in general outline is the extremely variegated and complex picture of land relations in African countries. In reality it is even more complicated. In almost every country, side by side with peasants using communal lands, there are peasants who are full owners of the land, peasants who are incomplete owners, leaseholders of state-owned lands, leaseholders of privately-owned lands, share-croppers, and farm hands with allotments. Land relations are incredibly entangled and in need of a radical clean-up.

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[1] Ibid. pp. 780-1.

[2] See *Peoples of Africa*, p. 309.

[3] Lord Hailey, op. cit. p. 798.

[4] For further details see V. A. Martynov, *Congo*, pp. 104-5, and *Lord Hailey*, op. cit. pp. 799-800.

The multiformity of land ownership naturally pre-determines a diversity of solutions for the land question, i.e. the content of agrarian reforms.

For the Republic of South Africa, for instance, the most expedient decision of the agrarian question was formulated in the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People in July, 1955: 'The land must be distributed among those who till it.' This applies to Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, and in general to all countries which preserve large land ownership by Europeans. Some people assert that such a solution of the problem affects the interests of the whole European population of these countries. In reality it affects the interests of only an insignificant group of big landowners. The slogan of the Freedom Charter fully corresponds to the interests of the working part of the population of European descent.

The progressive forces of the African continent are in favour of liquidation of private feudal land ownership and the transfer of landlords' lands to the direct producers, the peasants. The governments of many African states have already set to work in this direction.

In Egypt the first agrarian reform law was passed in 1952. According to this law the landowner could not have more than 200 feddans. The surplus was purchased by the state to be added to the land reserve for distribution among the landless and land-hungry peasants. Two hundred feddans (84 hectares) of irrigated land was quite a lot, if we take into account the fact that the landless peasants received only from two to five feddans. The 1952 agrarian reform law did not liquidate landlord ownership. That is why it was called a law for restricting land ownership. Payments of redemption money were also a heavy burden on the peasantry.[1] In 1961 the United Arab Republic went even further in this respect: the new maximum for land ownership was set at 100 feddans, and the redemption payments were lowered.[2] This eased substantially the position of the peasants. Though landlord ownership is undermined, it nevertheless still exists.

A number of measures have been implemented in Tunisia, aiming at mitigating land hunger. After the fall of the monarchy, the Bey's huge land possessions were confiscated, and also those of some feudal lords who had collaborated with the colonialists. As in Egypt, a land maximum has been established in Tunisia, which is 50 hectares; all surpluses are subject to confiscation. The *khabus* lands are confiscated. The government maintains religious institutions at the expense of the state. Gradually it is buying up the land of the French colonialists.[1]

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[1] D. Warriner, *Land Reforms in Countries of the Near East: Egypt, Syria and Iran* (Moscow, 1958).

[2] *Pravda*, 15 Aug. 1961.

As yet, no substantial agrarian reforms have been carried out in Morocco. The estates of traitors who collaborated with the colonialists were confiscated, and some landless peasants were given land. A law was passed for the return to Moroccan peasants of 40,000 hectares owned by French landowners. Projects to open up new lands that might alleviate land hunger to some extent have been devised.[2] Little has been achieved in Ethiopia in the field of agrarian relations. In 1947 a progressive land tax was introduced, its magnitude depending on the size and fertility of land plots. Some feudal lords were compelled to transfer to the state a part of their uncultivated land. Small plots of land were apportioned from the state reserves to those who had taken an active part in the war of liberation against Italian colonialists. Some of the peasants are being moved from the central provinces to the Kaffa province (coffee plantations area), where they receive land plots with hereditary user-right.

Land reforms are being implemented in various countries in different ways. However, they have not been carried through to the end. Even in Egypt, where land reform is being realized most consistently, the landlords still retain land holdings of up to 100 feddans, and this at a time when a considerable number of peasants have no land at all or own plots of less than one feddan in size. The interests of the development of productive forces require the fundamental reconstruction of land relations and total liquidation of the mediaeval feudal land ownership. 'It is necessary', Lenin said, 'to clear the whole of the land of all the mediaeval trash.'[3]

In those countries where state feudal land ownership exists, the solution of the agrarian question coincides with the task of democratisation of the social and state structure. The rent tax, collected by the treasuries of the Emirs, sultans, and other feudal lords, should now go into the budget of the democratically elected government and be expended not for the maintenance of the feudal nobility, but to increase the welfare of the people. In some countries, for example in Nigeria, a popular movement aiming at this has already begun. But that is not all. Usually state feudal land ownership is coupled with private land ownership by feudal lords. Being supreme owner of the whole country's land, each feudal ruler possesses considerable private property. Therefore, in conformity with progressive African public opinion, the democratization of the state structure must be accompanied by the nationalization of feudal lords' private possessions and the liquidation of the intermediaries in the collection of rent.

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[1] *La Tunisie au travail*, p. 87; *Pravda*, 20 Mar. 1958, 17 Nov. 1959.

[2] *Pravda*, 3 Mar. 1958; *Izvestia*, 1 Mar. 1959; *New Times*, 36, 1959.

[3] V. I. Lenin, *Works*, XIII, p. 389.

What will be the destiny of communal land ownership? There may be these alternatives: the preservation of communal land ownership or a transition to private ownership by peasants. Some economists are insisting on the second alternative, the liquidation of the communal land-owning system and the transfer of land to peasant private ownership. Thus a Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which visited Tanganyika in 1959-1960 declared itself in favour of liquidation of the communal system, and even elaborated recommendations on how to implement the transition from communal land ownership to private ownership by peasants.

Such a solution corresponds to the interests of capitalist development. But for the majority of peasants it may lead to dispossession of their land and final ruin. Even the International Bank Mission does not conceal that the transition to private land ownership 'raises the risk of excessive indebtedness, eventual concentration of ownership of land in the hands of those who have money to lend, and the creation of a destitute landless class'.[1] This course leads to the rapid and deep class differentiation of the peasantry, the emergence of rich farmers, and the conversion of the bulk of the peasantry into landless farmhands.

Many African political leaders express themselves in favour of preserving communal land ownership, and against the implanting of private land ownership. At a press conference which he gave in Moscow on November 21, 1959, Sékou Touré said: 'The land belongs to the nation. . . . In our country there exists the right to exploit land, but the right to land ownership does not exist any more, since the land has become the possession of the people'.[2] Addressing the First All-African Peoples' Conference in 1958, Kwame Nkrumah said: 'In the vast rural areas of Africa, the people hold land in common and work it on the principle of self-help and co-operation. These are the main features still predominating in African society, and we cannot do better than bend them to the requirements of a more modern socialistic pattern of society.'

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[1] *The Economic Development of Tanganyika: the report of a Mission organised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development* (Baltimore, 1961), p. 96.

[2] Sékou Touré, *Independent Guinea. Articles and Speeches* (Moscow, 1960), p. 168.

The communal system of peasant ownership need not by any means be a binding pre-condition for the socialist way of development, but in certain circumstances the preservation of communal land ownership may facilitate the co-operation of peasant households and in that way the transition to socialism. Today, however, the peasants' land-owning community in many African countries serves as a screen for the semi-feudal exploitation of the peasantry by the aristocratic upper crust of the clans and tribes. In the opinion of many public figures of the national liberation movement, the peasant community would be able to play its progressive role if it were freed from all mediaeval vestiges. The management of communal affairs and the administration of land must be in the hands of the community, as a form of democratic self-government.

The governments of the young African states have not yet decided on their attitude to the question of communal ownership. No corresponding legislation exists yet. The Guinea Republic, whose government prohibited all sorts of land transactions, is an exception. What decisions will be made by the governments of other countries the future will show.

In various countries the programmes of agrarian reform are different. But with all the diversity of these programmes, their aim is the same: to clear up the old land relations, mediaeval in substance, and to adjust them to new conditions and new tasks. As a foundation for land reform, the progressive forces in African countries are putting forward demands which will ensure the solution within the shortest possible time of the basic historical problem—the liquidation of the backwardness produced by colonialism.

FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA

Peter Mackintosh

FOLLOWING THE TYPICAL pattern of all fascist regimes, the South African Government is becoming more and more aggressive in the conduct of both its internal and external affairs. Just as Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were driven by the contradictions of their social system to seek solutions by way of ever-increasing repression at home and extravagant adventures abroad, so now the South African Government is forced by the contradictions of apartheid along the self-same road to ruin. By this I do not mean that the Nationalist regime is on the verge of collapse. But I *do* wish to suggest that the Nationalist regime is set on a course from which it cannot turn back, that it will plunge the country into one crisis after another, that it will seek ever more frantically and desperately for one solution after another, that as the untenability of its position becomes more and more manifest it will become more and more reckless in its methods and policies, clinging tenaciously to power in the face of the growing hostility of both local and world opinion. Believing that their whole way of life is at stake, the Nationalists can never be brought to compromise or retreat. As they repeatedly emphasise, a single concession must lead to the destruction of everything they stand for. Therefore the only answer is more, not less, apartheid, backed by force to overcome opposition no matter from what corner it may come. As Verwoerd indicated during the last session of Parliament:

> nobody will deny that a crisis exists in South Africa. . . . All over the world there is a crisis. One sees this in the United Nations, in developments in Africa and in threats to South Africa by agitators. These agitators will not be able to achieve anything, but it is a time pregnant with trouble. The Government will continue to take the necessary steps to preserve peace and order.

What Verwoerd calls 'peace and order' is in fact the suppression of all visible signs of opposition. 'If it becomes necessary to combat communism and the deeds which flow from Communist agitators, I will not hesitate to place the security of the state and its citizens above technicalities . . . in the ordinary administration of justice.' The security of the state! It is a phrase pregnant with many meanings, but what Verwoerd means by it is simply the security of White domination, the maintenance of White supremacy. If White supremacy is threatened, in other words, Verwoerd will not hesitate over technicalities in the ordinary administration of justice. The rule of law will be swept away. Naked force will be the order of the day.

FASCIST STATE

Today, South Africa is a fully fascist state. By this I mean not merely that she is a police state and that the rule of law is no longer applicable. I mean also that the apparatus of the state is becoming more and more inextricably merged with the monopoly-capitalist economy of the country, that the Government, by means of its control of private Nationalist capital and the State sector of the economy, is able to determine the financial destiny of the country. There is a growing alliance between the political and economic centres of power in South Africa which bears many similarities to what happened in Germany and Italy before and during the last war.

The steady erosion of freedom in South Africa has been patent for all to see. It started with the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, which for the first time since the Nationalist Government came to power placed the fate of South African citizens *of all races* in the hands of the Minister of Justice, who could ban them from meetings and organizations, order them to resign from office in trade unions, prevent them from becoming or remaining members of Parliament and the Provincial Council, prohibit the publication of newspapers etc. Gradually the administrative powers of the Government were extended. The bans, which had at first been for two years, were extended for five. Victims were restricted to certain magisterial areas, townships and ultimately, under the Sabotage Act of 1962, to the confines of their own homes. They were forbidden to enter non-White areas, factories or harbour areas, to belong to any organizations which discussed the affairs of any state, to take part in the preparation of any matter for publication in the press. Perhaps the worst feature of all was the clause of the Sabotage Act enabling the Minister to prohibit his victims from communicating in any way with other named or banned persons. All this really meant, in the words of the leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, that they were sentenced to a state of civil death, deprived arbitrarily of their democratic right to play a full and open part in the political life of the country. By 1963, not only the Communist Party had been banned, but also the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Congress of Democrats. Not only Communists were the recipients of banning orders. In fact, the majority of the banned had never been members of the Communist Party, and even a number of anti-Communist liberals were included in their ranks. The newspapers New Age, Spark and Fighting Talk were silenced. Not only Communists were anathematized by Government speakers, but also Liberals, Progressives, churchmen and indeed anybody who espoused the cause of multi-racial government—by which is meant that people of all races should be able to sit and vote in Parliament, even if not on a basis of equality. The lone Progressive M.P., Mrs. Helen Suzman, was accorded the treatment formerly reserved to the Communist M.P.s, hounded and execrated by her opponents, threatened with expulsion from the House, abused as an enemy of the state.

THE RULE OF LAW

Yet despite all this mass of repression, it was still possible until 1963 to claim that South Africa observed the rule of law. True, the majority of the people were denied the franchise, and forced to obey laws framed only by and in the interests of the Whites. This in itself in fact rendered the South African form of government not only undemocratic but also immoral, because no man should be expected to obey laws in the passage of which through Parliament he has been able to play absolutely no part. Nevertheless, no man could be arrested without being brought before a Court and properly charged within 48 hours, and this one slender safeguard was the barrier which distinguished South Africa from an out-and-out police state. The change-over to the naked rule of force was inaugurated in 1953, with the passage of the Public Safety Act, enabling the Government to suspend all law and rule by decree in an emergency. This Act was used during the 'state of emergency' which was declared after Sharpeville, when 2,000 people of all races were detained in prison for up to five months without ever being brought before the Courts. The emergency was lifted in September, 1960, but in December of the same year emergency rule was once again proclaimed to deal with the Pondoland rebellion, and to this day proclamation 400 has enabled the Government to detain anybody for any length of time in the Transkei without being under any necessity to bring them to trial.

Finally in 1963 the passage of the General Law Amendment Act extended the Government's powers throughout the whole country. It is now possible for any police officer without warrant to arrest or cause to be arrested any person whom he suspects 'upon reasonable grounds' of having committed or having intended to commit any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Unlawful Organizations Act (outlawing the A.N.C. and P.A.C.) or the offence of 'sabotage' and cause him to be detained for interrogation in any place up to 90 days 'on any particular occasion when he is so arrested'. No person save a magistrate shall have access to such person and no court shall have jurisdiction to order his release. With the passage of this Act South Africa can now only be characterized as a police state. The safety and security of the individual are at the whim of any police officer, who may order the incarceration of any individual at any time he likes. The safeguard that he must have 'reasonable grounds' for his action is purely illusory, for no court may order the release of the detainee. The 90-day limit is also no safeguard for the detainee, for a Cape court has ruled that at the end of that period he may immediately be re-arrested, and many detainees have in fact been so re-arrested and are faced with the prospect of lifelong imprisonment unless they answer questions to the satisfaction of the police.

The General Law Amendment Act perpetrated two further legal atrocities: the creation of retrospective offences for which people can receive the death penalty (though what they did was legal when it was done) and the indefinite detention of political prisoners on the expiration of the sentences imposed on them by the courts. Clearly Verwoerd meant what he said when he promised that he would allow no legal 'technicalities' to stand in the way of the defence of White Supremacy. The present position in South Africa is that illegal methods are being employed by an illegal government to crush all opposition to apartheid and prevent social change. No greater justification could be required for revolutionary action by the people to end the fascist dictatorship in South Africa.

A FORM OF TORTURE

When the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 was being debated in Parliament, Minister of Justice Vorster announced quite openly that its intention was to extract information from prisoners which could not be obtained by normal police interrogation. Faced with the accusation that prisoners could be beaten up in jail without anyone being the wiser, Vorster agreed to an Opposition proposal that all detainees must be visited at least once a week by a magistrate. It was a cunning move on his part, for it has done a great deal to silence criticism of the administration of the Act. The public has been satisfied that there are to be no steel whips and torture racks in South African prisons. The impression has been created that all 90-day detainees are being treated on the same basis as awaiting trial prisoners.

Nothing could be further from the truth. 'Ninety-day detainees lose all the traditional privileges of suspects and witnesses', states a newsletter issued by the Civil Rights League in Cape Town in August 1963. 'They may be required to answer incriminating questions; they may be asked to answer questions which would expose them to civil claims; they may be asked to give evidence against their own husband or wife; professional legal advisers may be asked to inform the police what their clients have communicated to them. . . . These provisions appear to leave detainees almost powerless before the police.'

But the worst aspect of 90-day detention is that it does in fact constitute a form of torture all the more hateful because it is secret and insidious instead of open and blatant. Detainees have all been kept in solitary confinement, isolated not only from one another but also from other prisoners. In many cases they have not even been kept in the same jail but have been scattered in jails throughout the country so that there is no possibility of communication between them, and one man will never know what is the fate of his comrades in distress. They have been locked in their cells for up to 23½ hours a day, and all the time over week-ends. They have been refused reading and writing materials. Warders have been forbidden to speak to them. In their cells they have nothing except a mattress and blankets and a change of clothing and they are forbidden to smoke. From one end of the day to the other they have nothing to do, but are left alone with their thoughts. Once a week the magistrate comes, listens to their complaints and goes away again. Once a week or more often the security police come to ask whether the detainee is now willing to answer questions.

During the last war solitary confinement of internees *as a punishment* was restricted to a maximum of 30 days. Now, in peace time, solitary confinement is the rule, and it is limitless. The purpose is quite clear—it is to break the prisoners without incurring the stigma of using torture on them. But this evil must be exposed for what it is—a sadistic form of torture which has already had a damaging effect on the mental health of many of the detainees and which Vorster has openly boasted has in many cases succeeded in its object—the prisoners have broken down and have talked. Is the forcible destruction of a man's personality any less hateful than the laceration of his body? Is the damage done to his brain any less real than that inflicted by the lash? The desperate attempts to escape which have been made by some detainees is testimony to the mental agony which they must be undergoing.

Nor is the torture of detainees confined, as the Government would wish the world to understand, to mental torture alone. At least one case is known of a no-trial detainee who died in captivity—Looksmart Solwandle, a young healthy vigorous man when he was arrested, but reported to have hanged himself in his cell in Pretoria on September 4, a few weeks after his arrest. People who knew Looksmart remember him as a fearless freedom fighter, the last man on earth to take his life because he was ever full of confidence about the future. It is known that he was brutally beaten up in the police cells in Cape Town before being transferred to Pretoria, and detainees in Pretoria confirm that he was savagely assaulted there as well and subjected to electric torture. After his death, the other detainees were told the same fate awaited them if they did not talk. Whether Solwandle was tortured to death, or driven to take his own life in order to escape further torture will never be known, but his blood is on the head of the police who held him and who can be called into account in no court because the General Law Amendment Act expressly excludes the jurisdiction of the courts in respect of 90-day detainees.

Another death which can be laid at the door of the police is that of the young Indian Ebrahim Siyanvala who was detained under the 90-day no-trial law and later released. On his way home he was stopped for a traffic offence and taken to a police station. While the police were preparing to charge him, he disappeared. Two days later his body was found in a river near the police station. Murder? Suicide? If the latter, he had obviously got into such a state during his period of detention that he simply could not face any more.

Another death which the police have never cleared up is that of John Simon in Worcester jail.

The whole civilized world should cry out against the continuance of this horror in South Africa, a horror foisted on decent-minded men and women simply because thay have had the courage to oppose the hideous monster of apartheid and to fight for social reform.

The Government's own shame at what it is doing is revealed by its refusal to provide any information about 90-day detainees. The press is not told the names of those arrested or the total number held under the Act. Information which the press may obtain from other sources it is afraid to publish because of the provisions of the Prisons Act. The result is that the whole question of detentions and the conditions in the jails is surrounded by a sinister fog of silence. In the murky gloom the police continue to torture their victims in the hope that they remain unseen and that their crimes against the people will go undetected. It is time to warn the evil practitioners of apartheid that they will not escape retribution at the bar of history. Those who are guilty will be punished with the same severity as was meted out to the Nazi war criminals, for their offence is no less. And those South Africans, white and black, who tolerate without protest what is going on in their midst will be branded as were the Germans who connived at the atrocities of the Hitlerites.

PEOPLE'S LEADERS

Those South Africans who are languishing in Vorster's jails at the moment include some of the most tried and tested leaders of the people, men and women who have devoted their lives to the cause of liberation. Those already sentenced include Nelson Mandela, volunteer-in-chief of the historic Defiance Campaign, leader of the 1961 general strike against the inauguration of the Republic and afterwards leader of the underground movement; Walter Sisulu, former Secretary General of the African National Congress and successor to Nelson Mandela as leader of the underground; George Peake, prominent Coloured leader and Cape Town City Councillor; Ben Turok, secretary of the Congress of Democrats and former Cape Provincial Councillor; and many others who have spent years in the political service of their people. The sentences on some of these men may be academic, because the Government has the power to detain them on completion of their sentences, just as it has already detained Robert Sobukwe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, who completed his sentence in May of this year but is now being held on Robben Island. For political prisoners who are caught, there is no longer any pretence of justice. They can be held indefinitely with or without a trial, with or without a sentence. Among those held under the 90-day law are Govan Mbeki, former Bunga member, A.N.C. leader in the Eastern Cape, prominent journalist on the staff of *New Age*; Raymond Mhlaba, another A.N.C. stalwart from the Eastern Cape; A. M. Kathrada, Indian Congress leader, veteran of the treason trial and the Defiance Campaign; 'Rusty' Bernstein, former leading member of the Communist Party, foundation member of the Congress of Democrats, ex-treason trialist; Lilian Ngoyi, President of the Federation of South African Women—and many other men and women of all races who have spearheaded the resistance to Nationalist tyranny for the last decade and more.

Some may be held in jail indefinitely under the no-trial Act, some may be brought to trial on a trumped up charge of treason or sabotage. Vorster has denied press rumours that as a result of the Rivonia arrests he is planning another mass treason trial. He says the accused will be charged with sabotage, as though that is a lesser offence. The fact is in South Africa today it is better to be charged with the common law crime of treason than with the statutory offence of sabotage. The maximum sentence in both cases is the death penalty. But a charge of treason has to be proved beyond reasonable doubt and must involve an element of violence. There is no minimum sentence for treason, and an accused who is convicted may even get away with a fine. With 'sabotage' the whole situation is different. An accused may be found guilty of as little as trespass; if charged with sabotage, the onus is then placed on him to prove that his trespass was not for the purpose of sabotage. Once convicted an accused must receive a minimum sentence of five years imprisonment. No wonder so many accused today are charged with sabotage and not with treason. Merely to be charged with sabotage is already half-way towards conviction. The discretion of the court is reduced to a minimum.

Not that the courts are by any means reluctant to play the Government's game. The sentences which have been meted out for sabotage and other political offences have been vicious in the extreme. On June 13, 1963, Mr. Vorster gave the following figures:

Sabotage—126 people convicted since the Act was passed; 511 still to appear.

Poqo—124 members found guilty of murder; 77 awaiting trial. More than 100 had appeared charged with attempted murder. A total of 3,246 Poqo members arrested.

Furthering banned organizations—action taken against 690; cases against 1,357 pending.

The September issue of the monthly paper 'Forward' listed 45 trials during the period January 1, 1963 to August 10, 1963, involving 517 persons. Of these 36 were sentenced to death, 6 to life imprisonment, and 333 to various jail sentences ranging from 20 years to 18 months, totalling 2,352 years in all. The remaining 142 were acquitted or the charges against them were withdrawn.

On the whole the judiciary has shown itself the faithful servant of the South African ruling class. Vorster can certainly have no complaint against the Bench on the basis of its record in political trials over the last few years.

Thus the picture presented by South Africa today is the squalid one of a hated minority government struggling by every means, legal and illegal to maintain itself in power. The opponents of the Government are banned, restricted and hounded in every possible way, many of them in jail without trial. According to the annual report for 1962-1963 of the Civil Rights League, Cape Town, 'we shall have to wait till Parliament reassembles for further official information, but it is even now clear that close on 100 Africans have been banished to places far distant from their homes; that about 20 South Africans are under house arrest; that many hundreds, of all races, have been banned; that about 300 South African citizens have been imprisoned under the 90-day law; and that in none of these cases has the law been openly administered. There have been no warrants for arrest, no charges framed for the accused to meet in open court where witnesses can be cross-examined'. Many opponents of the Goverment have been forced to carry on their activities underground; others have been forced to flee the country. The apparatus of the Special Branch has been trebled as the Government turns the heat on against its enemies.

Vorster has already announced that 165—more than half—of the 300 men and women detained under the 'no trial' law are to be 'tried' for sabotage. A special case is being made of the trial of Walter Sisulu and six others arrested with him at Rivonia who have been joined with Nelson Mandela and three others on a charge of sabotage. The full list of accused is: Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel ("Rusty") Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Bob Hepple. The first seven are named as members of the National High Command, the national executive committee of the national liberation movement and Umkhonto we Sizwe. The charge sheet alleges that the eleven are responsible for 222 acts of sabotage stretching in time from December 15, 1961, until August 5, 1963, and that this sabotage was preparatory to guerrilla warfare in South Africa coupled with an armed invasion of and a violent revolution in South Africa.

Senior state prosecutor Yutar is in charge of the proceedings against the eleven. (Interestingly enough, like many who collaborated with the Nazis in Europe, Yutar is a pillar of the local Jewish community.) Yutar was also the man in charge of the sedition case against the members of the Communist Party Central Committee in 1946. He made a mess of that case and failed even to get an indictment accepted by the court. Today, however, the law is twisted in his favour. He does not have to prove the accused guilty, they have to prove their innocence. He spent three months preparing the case against the accused at his leisure, while they were subjected to the harrowing experience of solitary confinement for 88 days, 23½ hours a day, unable even to consult with a lawyer until a few days before they were brought to court. Not surprisingly when the accused finally appeared in court, defence counsel drew attention to their drawn and haggard appearance and applied for a remand of at least a month to enable them to recover.

At the time of writing it is believed the State will ask for the death penalty against some if not all the accused, and the danger that these brave leaders of the South African liberation movement will be sentenced to death should not be underestimated.

It is obvious that under present conditions, Sisulu, Mbeki, Bernstein, Kathrada and their colleagues have no hope of a fair trial under existing conditions in South Africa. Unless the full glare of international scrutiny is directed on these sordid 'legal proceedings' Vorster will try to use the trial as a staged demonstration to panic the Whites into the apartheid laager and terrorize the masses into submission. In the words of the

African National Congress: *The conscience of the world must not allow Walter Sisulu and his brave companions to be sacrificed on the altar of apartheid and white supremacy.*

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

The amazing and heartening fact is that despite all the repression, despite the severe blow of the Rivonia arrests, despite everything the Government can do or threaten, the morale of the people has been unshaken and the struggle for freedom continues. After Rivonia, the police said they had captured the headquarters of Poqo, the A.N.C., P.A.C., Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Communist Party, and that it would not be long before the remaining members of these organizations were rounded up and rendered harmless. Within a few weeks of this ridiculous boast (and how could Poqo and P.A.C. share headquarters with the A.N.C. or the Communist Party anyway?) both Umkhonto we Sizwe and the A.N.C. had issued leaflets to the people declaring that the struggle must continue; the board of the *African Communist* had issued a stirring call to 'stand by our leaders'; the Cape Town suburban railways were disrupted by the most daring and carefully planned act of sabotage the country had seen for many months, while other acts of sabotage were committed in Natal and the Transvaal, though unreported in the South African press. No one can pretend that the loss of men like Sisulu, Mbeki, Bernstein and Kathrada is not a severe blow to the liberatory movement. But for the police to imagine that by capturing a few leaders they had destroyed all opposition was naive in the extreme. Even Vorster has now changed his tune. Speaking at a Nationalist stryddag in the Free State on September 7, he promised his audience that the days of the White agitator in South Africa were numbered—'their time is running very, very short'. These fascist gentlemen are making two very grave miscalculations. Firstly, their inbred racialism makes them think the Non-Whites of South Africa are incapable of resistance unless led by Whites; secondly, their contempt of the people makes them think that the masses would have no grievances unless instigated by 'agitators.'

Let us remind the South African fascists of some of the lessons of history—that resistance is born of the oppression of the people, and is not created by magicians; that Non-Whites are perfectly capable of appreciating the fact that they are oppressed, and don't need Whites to tell them so; that the liberatory movement in South Africa is spearheaded by the organizations of the African people, and that if every last 'White agitator' were jailed, deported or driven into exile, the fight would still continue. Political movements are fashioned by the objective conditions in which the people find themselves. Leadership, of course, is important; organization even more so. We can be thankful that in South Africa today there are a thousand signs that the people are on the march, that they have not been cowed by setbacks and reverses, that their militancy is throwing up new men and women every day who are prepared to play their part in the struggle and whose initiative and devotion to freedom is a guarantee that the movement will never lack leaders, no matter how many 'agitators' Vorster's narks may track down and throw into prison.

IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

Meanwhile, faced with increasing difficulties in trying to implement its ridiculous Bantustan policy, the Government is seeking an answer in a policy of imperialist expansionism. In 1962 Verwoerd formally renounced any intention of incorporating the Protectorates in South Africa. By September, 1963, however, swelling criticism within his own party of the Bantustan policy, coupled with fears that the High Commission Territories would shortly win a level of self-government or even independence which could be dangerous to South Africa's security, led him to revise his attitude. The Nationalists are haunted by the existence of certain democratic rights and a measure of asylum for refugees (however limited both may be) in Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. South African police activity on the borders of and even right inside the Protectorates was intensified, despite the protests of the peoples of these territories themselves and even of the British Government. Finally Verwoerd came forward with the outrageous suggestion that South Africa should take over from Britain the administration of these territories as she was in a far better position than Britain to lead them towards 'independence'.

Verwoerd's 'offer' was rejected with contempt by the leaders of African parties in all the territories and so shocked world opinion that he was forced to issue an explanation that he had made no take-over bid for the territories but had simply pleaded for the South African case to be put to the peoples so that they could decide what they wanted for themselves. The world has had too much experience of fascist-rigged plebiscites to be taken in by Verwoerd's 'offer'. This is the prelude to aggression, as the world learnt to its cost when Hitler proposed to hold a 'plebiscite' in the Sudetenland. Britain pretended not to hear. She continued her familiar policy of verbal 'disapproval' of apartheid while doing everything in her power to block international action against the Verwoerd regime and prop it up with arms, investments and trade. Sir Hugh Stephenson, British Ambassador to South Africa, continues to urge still greater British investment and trade with apartheid South Africa, as he did in his notorious Pretoria speech of September 17.

Yet only the day before Sir Hugh spoke, the egregious Mr. Eric Louw was threatening 'the West' with reprisals if they persisted with their 'hostile' policies towards South Africa, stopping the sale of gold through London, and cancelling the Simonstown naval defence agreement. The truth is that Louw and his colleagues are in no position to threaten or bargain. But for the support of British and United States imperialism the people of South Africa would have overthrown Verwoerd and his fascist gang long ago. Washington and the City of London are not concerned with moral principles but with hard cash from their huge investments in South Africa—the profits of apartheid and sweated African labour. That is why they protect Verwoerd at the United Nations and that is why—though the United States has now promised to end this evil traffic 'in five months time'—they have supplied the South African fascist dictatorship with the weapons it needs to suppress its own people and threaten Africa with aggression.

WILL NOT TOLERATE IT

But Britain, the United States and other imperialist powers which protect Verwoerd are rapidly being forced into a position where they will have to throw him to the wolves. The aggressive fascist apartheid state in the South is not only a threat to its small neighbours in the High Commission territories, it threatens the peace and security of the whole of Africa and indeed the whole world. No one is more conscious of this fact than the people in the rest of liberated Africa itself. The African peoples, as they showed so clearly at Addis Ababa in the middle of this year, are determined to end the scandal of African slavery in the South. And they are just not prepared to tolerate continued imperialist intervention on behalf of the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship. The 'West' cannot afford to jeopardise its position throughout Africa and in Asia too, just for the sake of the investors in the Rand gold mines—however important and influential they may be. That is why, sooner or later—and the time is coming very close—the White bosses who have lorded it for so long in South Africa will find themselves without a friend in the world, and face to face with reality and the twelve million non-whites.

Since the Addis Ababa conference in March of this year the independent African states have already taken a number of important measures in implementation of their resolutions to contribute their utmost to the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa from White domination. South African Airways planes may no longer overfly the African states, and must make a long detour round the western bulge of the continent to carry their passengers and freight to Europe. Many of the Afro-Asian states have taken steps to impose an economic boycott, though a lot more remains to be done before the South African economy will be seriously affected. But already South Africa is feeling the pinch and is beginning to fear the future. That the Verwoerd Government has chosen the road of aggression rather than of conciliation as a way out of the impasse is a sign of weakness rather than of strength. The Nationalists make no concessions in their external policy any more than in their internal policy. They know that a single compromise could lead to the total collapse of white supremacy and they are determined to cling to their privileges to the bitter end.

We South African freedom fighters call upon the peoples of the world to intensify their fraternal efforts to help us free our country from fascism. To the peoples of Africa and Asia we say: Thank you for what you have already done, but do more and do it quickly, for our sufferings are intense. To the peoples of Europe and America we say: Before you buy South African oranges or tinned fruit, think of the men and women who are enduring a living death in South Africa's jails. Expose the capitalists in your country who put their profits before the good name of your people; force your Government to stop selling arms to Verwoerd. You would not trade with Hitler were he in power in Germany today. Do not trade with Verwoerd, Hitler's disciple, who is in power in South Africa today.

The peoples of South Africa of all races are locked in mortal struggle with their oppressors, determined to liberate their country from the Nationalist tyrants at the earliest possible opportunity. We have entered the stage of outright civil war and revolution, when men and women are dying that their children may live in freedom and equality. We appeal to you—do not put weapons into the hands of our enemies, do not put money into their coffers. Isolate the fascist aggressors who want to dominate the whole of southern Africa! Help destroy the White Supremacists who threaten to plunge a whole continent into war!

We call upon the freedom-loving people of all countries to unite in a mighty international campaign for the release of South Africa's political prisoners.

Down with the Verwoerd-Vorster gang who are turning our country into a gigantic concentration camp!

Forward to a free South Africa in which all people will enjoy equal rights irrespective of race, creed or colour! Forward to the socialist South Africa which is struggling to be born!

Marxist-Leninist Study

HOW SOCIAL CHANGE COMES ABOUT

Sol Dubula

EVEN SOMEONE WHO knows very little about history knows that it does not stand still. There are periods in the history of social development which give the appearance of being static, eternal and unalterable. Yet to the surprise of the blind or those who do not want to see there is a sudden break with the past and a new and higher form of social organisation arises.

Different people explain these changes in different ways. Some say it is God. Others say it is the creation of the individual genius who has awoken people from their slumber. Still others attribute it to some spontaneous accidental event which has nothing to do with the past. The people who look for this type of explanation are either the victims or the tools of those who have some special interest to sow confusion about the true process of change in history.

Some may well ask the question: 'What has all this got to do with our struggle against imperialism, colonialism and oppression? Let the theoreticians and the intellectuals spend their leisure hours debating the reason for and the mechanism of social change. We have a job to do—a true theory of history may be important for the degree-hunting student but how on earth is it connected with the struggle against Verwoerd and the building of a decent healthy society in South Africa?'

Such a view is not only shortsighted, it gives the enemy all the advantage he requires in the battle for the minds of the masses of the people.

What greater demoralisation can be created amongst oppressed people than to plant in their minds the belief that their misery is God-created and for ever unchangeable. The well-known biblical cliche that the poor will always be with us is not just an expression of resignation. It is an indispensable weapon in the hands of a small minority who would be deprived of their privileges if the poor were not with us.

The whole state propaganda machine in South Africa is mobilised to capture the minds of the people for servility. The notorious Bantu Education Act is just one example of this.

Although ideas, as we shall see later, have their roots in the material life around us, it is in this very field of ideas that the important battles begin. This is a self-evident fact. That is why education and agitation to offset the influence of reactionary ideas and to illuminate the minds of the people on the way forward, is an indispensable activity of the true scientific revolutionary.

LIGHTING THE WAY

A true understanding of the processes of history not only serves to eradicate backward beliefs which are obstacles in the struggle. It illuminates the road to the future. It transfers political leadership from the field of pure emotion and anarchism and places it where it belongs—in the field of scientific leadership based on understanding and knowledge. It enables one to understand what sort of social change is feasible in any given situation and which groups in society are to be relied upon to effect such change. It enables one to judge political groups and individuals not by what they say about themselves but by reference to their overall historical function and direction. It enables one to judge the wisdom of each act in the struggle not by reference to some blind emotion or intuition but by the scientific standard of whether such act is consistent with the ultimate objective and accords with the realities of life.

Without a profound grasp of all the essentials of the scientific approach to history, the political leader will sway with the wind; will lose faith in the possibility of ultimate victory and will fall prey to ideas and courses of conduct which hamper rather than advance the struggle. Let us take a few examples from the rich experience of the South African Communist Party.

The South African liberation movement has often been faced with the problem of defining its attitude towards dummy institutions such as Bungas, Advisory Boards and similar bodies. The politician who bases his attitude on the simple emotional foundation of hatred for all white men's dummy institutions will continue to shout 'boycott' irrespective of the real needs of the movement. He will often go further and hurl abuse at the Communists who in one situation may advocate boycott and in another attempt to make use of some of these institutions to advance the people's struggle. He will say the Communists are inconsistent. But are they? Surely the only true scientific test of political consistency is whether a given tactic advances or retards the people's struggle. In one situation a call for a boycott becomes a most important basis for the progress of the liberation struggle. In another situation it can serve to hold back the full possibilities of advance.

He who shouts boycott irrespective of place, time and situation is really the inconsistent one. He would have you believe that revolutions are made by emotional phrase-mongering. What consistency is there in the parrot-like cries for the continuation of a policy which may be right for one situation but extremely dangerous in another? He who does this is certainly consistent with himself but not with the scientific principles of political leadership. He lacks the understanding of the processes of history and thus of the political tactics which effect advances. The fact that such a person may be right in one situation is merely a matter of accident. By and large, historical advance does not, as our school teachers would have us believe, consist of a collection of accidents. Hatred of oppressive institutions is of course the very starting point of political action. But it is not enough to hate. The emotion must, by knowledge and understanding, be transformed into an effective tool for putting an end to oppression and all its institutions. Here, in this small field of the tactic of the boycott, you can already see the contrast between the scientific political leader and the ill-equipped pseudo-revolutionary.

The point becomes even more important in relation to the assessment of the present strength of the Verwoerd regime and the possibilities of an advance towards a state of true national democracy. Those not equipped with a knowledge and understanding of the historical process will present a case, which for them is formidable, that there appears to be no hope for change. The South African regime is extremely powerful and well armed. The people are without the material resources to challenge it. The economy is stable and prosperous even though its benefits go to the minority white group. It has powerful friends outside South Africa.

Yet the Communist Party says:

> '. . . inside South Africa itself—in spite of the massive-appearing and ever-growing state machine of domination and repression—the balance of forces is steadily changing in favour of the people and their liberation forces, and against the oppressing minority.'
>
> (*The Revolutionary Way Out*—a Statement of the Central Committee published in THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, Vol. 2, No. 3).

Is it because Communists are more optimistic than others by nature? Certainly not. This assessment is based on the application of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism which tells us that to examine any situation as if it were in a state of isolation and complete repose, is to examine it on historically false premises.

This is not the place to set out all the factors which explain why in the face of an unprecedented military and security build-up and a reign of terror against the forces of national liberation, some of the most militant and effective counter blows have been struck and why the basis is being laid for raising the struggle to still higher levels.

A failure to grasp the dynamic laws of movement of society has in many cases given rise to defeatism and disillusionment which in turn leads to unnecessary compromise and dragging in the tail of the people's struggle. On the reverse side of the coin it leads to adventurism and criminal recklessness of the Leballo type. The moderate and the adventurist both suffer from the same disease. Their reactions are determined not by the overall scientific analysis of the forces of change in a continuous state of movement but by sudden rushes of blood to the head or butterflies to the stomach.

BASIC LAWS

Of course the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism does not pretend to supply a ready-made formula for the solution of every problem. Nor does it pretend to forecast in every detail the future course of events. However, on the basis of a study of history it provides the only correct framework in which the serious revolutionary can approach the problem of leading his people against all forms of oppression. It proclaims the universal truth of certain basic laws of social development and demonstrates that without knowledge of these laws the road to the future is dulled with fog. Marxists do not claim to be infallible prophets nor do they ignore the possibility of the accident, the unforeseen or the effect of good or bad leadership.

We have all heard of a number of well-known natural laws such as the law of gravity. If any person attempted to conduct himself in such a way as if the law of gravity did not exist we would all think he was a lunatic. The law of gravity operates, as you know, quite independently of our will and our intention and hence we cannot will or pray it out of existence. We are compelled, unless our intention is to commit suicide, to live our lives with this universal objective reality.

In the same way, if there are universal laws of social development which operate independently of our will, we cannot close our eyes to them but must operate within their framework. If the programme and policy we adopt does not take these historical truths into account, then however sincere or hardworking we might be, the effort will be wasted and may even have the effect of putting the struggle back. Let us illustrate this proposition by an example.

You will see later that it is one of the fundamental laws of social development that there is a continuous movement from lower to higher levels of production and that where at a given stage the social system (or more correctly the relations of production) becomes an obstacle to the growth of the productive forces, the social system is swept away and replaced by another which enables the process to be continued. Yet there have been people in history and there are still a few today who would have us ignore this basic law.

When modern machinery was introduced its initial effect was to create greater misery for the working class by causing unemployment with all its resultant evils. 'Destroy the machines!' was the cry of a few who were incapable of understanding the true cause of the misery and the inevitable course which history takes. Although a few machines were actually destroyed such an approach was doomed to failure as an overall solution to the problems confronting the working class under capitalism. The brave bands of workers who responded to such a call were of course showing an inspiring militancy based on the urgent need to act in order to do away with the miseries of capitalism. But to be sincere and militant is not enough. Had they understood that to prevent the means of production from developing was as impossible a task as the attempt by Canute to stop the sea by verbal commands, their efforts would have been better directed.

The modern counterparts of the machine breakers are still to be found in many parts of the world. The cry of back to the spinning wheel or back to the primitive glory of tribal society may be a means of expressing disgust at the suffering caused by capitalist relations of production but it has in the past failed to stop the process of history and will fail to do so in the future. Why?

The unchangeable law of economic growth cannot be propagandised out of existence. It operates whether we like it or not and the political leader who closes his eyes to it will be swept away.

SCIENCE AND HISTORY

At this point the reader may be puzzled by a very important question. He will be only too ready to admit that there are certain laws of nature which assert themselves whether we desire it or not. However much we think, pray or act we will not stop the sun from rising tomorrow morning or the apple from reaching the ground when it falls from the tree. But the laws of history, you might puzzle, can surely not operate in the same way. History is made by men with wills and passions. They act on ideas formulated in the human brain. They are not machines driven by some outside power to do things and to bring about changes in accordance with some law of social development of which they may be completely ignorant. Since the rising of the sun has no connection whatsoever with our wills, our actions and our thinking, it is easy to understand why the event will occur irrespective of man's action. But our wills, our thinking and our actions are the very stuff from which history is made.

How can it therefore be said that whether we like it or not a certain course of events is inevitable?

To understand the answer to this question we must examine in some detail the Marxist view of history which is generally known as the materialist conception of history or historical materialism.

A simple clue to the understanding of one of the most important propositions of historical materialism is contained in the well-known working class song which paraphrases a portion of the speech which Friedrich Engels delivered at the graveside of Karl Marx:

> 'As man is only human he must eat before he can think.
> Fine words are only empty air and not his meat or drink.'

No one can deny that before human beings can engage in any other activity they have to provide for the basic things which make life possible—food, clothing and shelter. Man, because of his relative physical weakness and his relative advanced mental capabilities, is at the same time both compelled and peculiarly suited to associate himself with other men for the purpose of conquering the natural forces which threaten his existence and utilising them for the purpose of a never-ending advance of his physical and intellectual needs.

This he achieves by associating with his fellow men to produce and exchange the things required for the sustenance of life. The production of these things is the very basis of every social order. And the way men associate together at any given time to produce them, characterises and describes the social system.

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

History has seen the growth and development of a number of social systems. Each differs from the other because of the way in which men have associated themselves for this purpose. These relations of production constitute the very foundation of the social order and the pursuit of other social interests is directly linked with the type of production relations which exist at the time.

Men do not enter into a specific type of relations of production as a result of some formal conscious decision. They do so because, in a sense, they are forced by the objective conditions of material life. As Engels stated,

> 'the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced . . . is the basis of every social order.

> In every society that has appeared in history, the distribution of the products and with it the division of society into classes, is determined by what is produced and how it is produced and how the produce is exchanged.' (Socialism, Utopian and Scientific).

In the early stages of man's history he associated together with others on the basis of equality both in the field of a contribution towards the productive machine and in sharing its products. The cultural, spiritual and other social institutions which this type of society developed were, in many respects, from a moral point of view, far in advance of the standards which have become entrenched in capitalist society. These have elevated exploitation, inequality, greed and selfishness to the level of a state religion. A superficial analysis of these facts has misled many people. In our last issue we dealt with an argument advanced by Mr. Tom Mboya, which relied in part on the superior moral qualities of primitive, tribal institutions.

Primitive communism (as this early social system is known) together with all its social institutions, did not operate because of the superior moral character of early man. It was a social system which reflected the very low level of productive capacity. Private ownership of the means of production as we know it today and the exploitation of man by man did not exist. The laws and other social institutions reflected this objective reality. Although the precise form of institutions differed, communities between whom there could have been little or no contact, by and large, developed similar institutions at points where the level of productive capacity coincided. If we reject the supernatural explanation, we must come to the conclusion that these institutions had their roots in the material conditions of life in existence at the time. The modern capitalist theoretician would have been laughed out of existence had he is such circumstances advocated the creation of a competitive economic society based on private property.

It is impossible to live off the labour of another man when the level of production is such that he can barely produce enough to support himself let alone another. And because men produced communally the result of their effort was shared equally. In such a society co-operation on the basis of equality is not inspired by superior ethical concepts. It is a necessity imposed by the primitive nature of the tools at the disposal of men. The necessities of society give birth to its morals.

As time passed men developed their tools and improved their productive techniques. From hunting tribes they settled down and became agricultural communities. Instead of the whole community being engaged in one or two major economic activities, a division of labour made possible by the development of the means of production arises. It is only at this stage of economic growth that one sees the development of private property and the division of society into classes—those who own the means of production and those who work for them.

The precise direction which society then takes may differ from place to place depending upon many factors peculiar to the people and its past history. But the essential features remain the same. Private property and its protection by the property-owning class become the basis of the society. Inevitable antagonisms arise between the dispossessed and those who own the means to control their life and to exploit them. The struggle between these classes becomes the basic and fundamental motive force of history.

NEW IDEAS

Not only is there an economic transformation in the relations of production but with it new ideas and institutions grow or are developed. Voluntary loyalty to the community is replaced by an enforced loyalty to the small group of exploiters. Private ownership of the means of production and its protection become the basis of all religious and other ethical systems. New ideas based on greed, selfishness and avarice replace the old noble concepts of communal living and pulling together for the good of all. Has the devil entered man? No. The law of social development is asserting itself. The new concepts and institutions inevitably begin to reflect the needs of the new economic system.

The system of slavery was the first economic form of exploitation of man by man which gradually replaced primitive communism in most part of the world where economic growth had made its establishment possible. Society was divided up into two main classes, the slave-owners and the slaves. The slaves, consisting in the main of masses of people conquered by wars or captured by other violent means, became the property of the slave owner. The master appropriated to himself the whole product of the slave's labour and the slave received in return the barest minimum required to keep him alive and working.

The appropriation of the fruit of another man's labour was only made possible because he could produce a surplus. Previously, the communal effort was hardly efficient enough to produce sufficient to satisfy the minimum requirements of the producers.

In time a new form of exploitation, feudalism, replaced slavery and became the predominant feature of the social and economic system in many parts of the world. Under feudalism the worker was not completely owned by his master. By law or by necessity the serf was tied down to the land owned by the feudal lord. Unlike slavery, the whole product of his labour did not belong to his master. Usually the serf was obliged to work portion of his time or portion of his land for himself and the rest for his master. Again the social, cultural and other institutions came to reflect this new form of exploitation.

Feudalism as an economic system did not come into being as a result of a deliberate decision by mankind. The old slave relationships began to be undermined because the inevitable drive to greater productivity was being hampered by the form of exploitation under slavery. Improved productive techniques were not easily usable by slave labour. Dissatisfaction leading to many heroic slave revolts played an important role in the break-up of this system.

CAPITALISM

Capitalism is the last social system between primitive communism and socialism which operates on the basis of exploitation of man by man.

As was the case with previous basic changes of social structure, it did not come about as a result of the deliberate decision by mankind to introduce it.

The old feudal relations of production were good enough for a certain period in history. But gradually as a result of economic developments within feudal society, the old relations of production became more and more a drag on further potential economic advance. In particular, the feudal relations which tied the mass of the working population to the land and which, compared with slavery, resulted in a flourishing of production, now started acting as a brake. Thus, with the development of the productive forces, the law of history again asserted itself. The old relations of production were smashed and replaced by the social system of capitalism.

Under capitalism the worker is separated completely from the means of production and exists by the sale of the only thing he possesses—his labour power. He is free to move and to sell his labour power to the highest bidder.

The form of exploitation has altered but its essence has remained the same. It was very easy to understand that under feudalism the feudal lord was enriched by living directly off the surplus products appropriated from the labour of others. The introduction of the wage system tends to blur the fact that from this point of view the capitalist does precisely the same.

With the political victory of capitalism made inevitable by the development of the productive forces, there arose again a new cultural and social superstructure. The concept of "liberty, equality and fraternity" could not have inspired so many people to action unless the material basis for its spread was in existence. Whatever the motives were of the well-known philosophers who made this concept popular, it was the ideological weapon for the smashing of feudalism and its replacement by a new form of exploitation.

THE NEXT STEP

The workers were freed from the feudal type of bondage to be faced with a new oppressor. The victory of the capitalist class in various countries gave an unprecedented spurt to the development of man's productive forces. Petty individual production was replaced by the powers of social labour in which men co-operate together in great productive enterprises using power-driven machinery. This social production is capable of immense achievement but the private appropriation of the product under capitalism in which social production is made to serve private profit hampers the fuller use and development of the forces of production for the benefit of mankind. Thus again there is a lack of harmony between the relations of production and the further development of the productive forces. The law of history must assert itself. Indeed, for a third of humanity it already has in the form of the socialist system which makes possible miracles of expansion and production. For the first time since primitive communism the exploitation of man by man has been abolished and the stage is being set for the building of communism. The establishment of the socialist economic system was made possible only by the tremendous advances which mankind had made in the economic field. It is no historical accident that Marx and Engels discovered the theory of socialism at the time when they did. The new economic changes that had come about presented humanity with new tasks and it is only in such a situation that theories which lead people to action are developed. (A more detailed analysis of capitalism and socialism will be made in a future instalment).

At each stage of history men set themselves aims which have their roots in the real posibilities around them. The social institutions and political ideas which appear to be the moving forces of history are merely mirrors of the material world. It is true that these ideas develop a momentum of their own and in turn affect the precise nature and timing of historical events. But this ought not to blind us to the fact that

> 'men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please. They do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.'
> (Marx—The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte).

Once we understand this, we are no longer tossed about in a sea of historical uncertainty. The goals we set ourselves are based on the scientific understanding of the process of change.

Our ignorance of the laws of change will not in the long run prevent them from asserting themselves. But once we understand them the process becomes speedier and less painful. The scientific application of these laws becomes a tool for the building of the future. That is why the Marxist view of history is not just an academic explanation of the world. It is an indispensable weapon for changing it.

BOOK REVIEWS

Africa—the Way Ahead
by Jack Woddis, published by Lawrence & Wishart 21*s*.

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION is a continuing process of change. The long struggles which have led to the creation of a number of independent African states are proving to be only the first stage in a major historical movement of change encompassing every aspect of African life and labour. A new stage is set for carrying forward the struggle to remove the remains of imperialist and colonialist influence in the African continent, to bring about sweeping changes in the economic, social and political structure of African society, to remove the heritage of imperialism: poverty and backwardness, and to unite against imperialism, in the interests of world peace and progress.

This stage is already marked by intense discussion and debate among the broad masses of the African people and their organisations. The most pointed questions on Africa's future are now being put. How are the new African states to construct their economies and improve the lot of the common people? Should Africa take the path of socialism or go through the experience of a long and painful capitalist haul as an inevitable course of development? What is socialism? What is the role of the working class in the new Africa? Are the hard-won democratic rights of people imperilled by the development of single-party states? How can Africa unite and what should be its role in the world? That such crucial issues should be discussed so early in the freedom struggle and made the focal points of contemporary African politics attests to the great revolutionary qualities of the African people, and their important place among the world forces working for social progress and peace.

The imperialists and colonialists are necessarily worried by this new stage in the African freedom struggle. Their spokesmen and apologists, so-called 'African experts', have come forward with a flood of books and propaganda material (some even protesting sympathy with the African revolution) all designed to restore their influence in the Continent and divert the African people from the path of true independence and progress. They peddle the alleged virtues of 'Western democracy' and the 'Westminster' model of government and political parties and of the so-called dangers of 'Soviet Communism' in Africa. They try to whitewash the responsibility of imperialism for the appalling poverty and backwardness of the African economy and plead for maintaining economic links between Europe and Africa (in necessarily new forms like the European Common Market with its system of 'associated' territories). They speak alluringly of Western aid and economic assistance but always on the condition that the imperialist monopolies maintain untrammelled control over the rich mineral, raw material and labour resources of the continent. They ridicule the idea and content of African unity by concentrating attention on those forces dividing Africa.

In a completely different class and category stand the books of Jack Woddis, the British Marxist. In his third volume[1] on the African revolution, *Africa—The Way Ahead*, Woddis combines the rich science of Marxism-Leninism with a masterly grasp of the African situation to examine and analyse the very questions which form the content of the present stage of the African revolution. Woddis is a member of the British Communist Party. This Party, standing at the head of the most militant and forward-looking sections of the British working class, has fought untiringly and selflessly for Africa's liberation and independence throughout the period of its existence. This has contributed to a close and warm fraternity—of mutual interest and solidarity between the African freedom movement and the Communists of Britain. And it is in this spirit that Woddis writes his third volume. After explaining that the answer to many of Africa's problems can be given in the last resort only by the African people themselves, he writes:

> 'The book is written as a contribution to discussion—a discussion which is already involving people not only in Africa but in all countries where-ever men and women are concerned with Africa's fate. In some cases this concern springs from motives of self-interest, out of anxiety to "keep Africa with the West". The present book has no such interest at heart. It is dedicated to the cause of African independence, democracy and prosperity. And it is in loyalty to those aims that this book is written.'

The first chapter of the book, probably the most important, discusses whether Africa can take the non-capitalist path forward. Woddis, basing himself on Marxism-Leninism and on the rich experience of the colonial people in Africa and elsewhere, develops a thesis of economic and social development for free Africa which presents a crucial choice for the African people—a choice they must make now. He shows that within Africa the opportunities for the rapid development of an indigenous class of capitalists independent of imperialism are limited. Hundreds of years of slavery and robbery, and several decades of imperialist domination have not only stunted and distorted the processes of economic growth and change but have restricted the formation of classes. Everywhere in Africa, the bourgeoisie is relatively weak in relation to imperialism; everywhere, the key points in the economy have remained in the firm control of imperialist monopolies. African capitalism, where it exists or has been developed, has been forced by imperialism to confine its activities to the periphery of capitalist production and this largely means the retail trades. Thus the pursuit of the capitalist path for Africa with its relatively weak national bourgeoisie will inevitably mean continued dependence on imperialism.

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[1] The earlier two volumes are *Africa: The Roots of Revolt* (1960) and *Africa: The Lion Awakes* (1961).

The case of Latin America is significant in this respect. Though many of the Latin American states are independent, they still remain under the domination of the American imperialists. With the exception of revolutionary Cuba, they are principally puppet states of U.S. imperialism. Internally they are powerless to develop into fully-fledged independent capitalist states since most of their economic resources are in the hands of U.S. capital; externally, their policies are largely dictated by the U.S. State Department. Thus, even if Africa chose the capitalist path, it is precluded by the present relation of its class forces and the facts of history from taking such a path and still remaining independent. The road of capitalism is the road of clinging to and remaining under imperialist domination. The alternative is the road of socialism. This too is the road of freedom.

Doubtless, the truth of this makes the choice of socialism inevitable for the African people. Hence its popularity. But the problem does not rest there. In Africa a multitude of meanings are attached to the term socialism and there is some danger that socialism will become so devoid of any content as actually to create the conditions for continued imperialist control and dominance in Africa.

Woddis examines the various notions of socialism current in Africa—'African socialism', 'co-operative socialism', 'Arab socialism', 'traditional socialism', 'democratic socialism' and several others, and shows that none of these systems, insofar as they are definable, touches on the essence of true or *scientific socialism*, that is, how to put an end to exploitation of man by man through the increasing public ownership of the most important means of production, and the planning of production for all-round economic development and for the benefit of the people. The special and exceptional features of African society, admittedly important in this context, by no means alter the importance of this; rather, these features make more imperative the pursuit of *Socialism* as an alternative to the painful process of capitalism.

The system of land ownership predominant in Africa makes possible the easy and acceptable application of socialist and co-operative forms of land ownership and distribution of the products of the land. Socialist agriculture provides the point of departure for lifting African agriculture out of its backwardness, into a modern and prosperous one, opening up opportunities for the employment of new methods and capital, of economic size, of a stable agricultural population, of rising yields and output, of organized marketing and distribution, and hence of surpluses which can become a significant source of capital accumulation for industrial and secondary forms of development. Similarly the relative weakness of the African bourgeoisie as a class makes possible the widest opportunities for state initiative in the field of industrial development. Thus:

> 'The state sector of the economy in the independent states plays a role as an instrument of national growth and against imperialist domination. Furthermore, decisive political and state changes could take place in these countries which would strengthen the people's democratic control over the nation's economy and thus facilitate the taking of a non-capitalist path.'

A correct understanding of Socialism is thus vital. Woddis examines in great detail the implications of the true socialist path forward and the stage of 'national democracy' which can make this path possible. This stage provides the best basis for constructing socialism. It suggests decisive steps to consolidate national independence, uprooting the remains of imperialism and feudalism, of land reform, industrialization and the nationalization of foreign enterprises. These changes require the fullest democratic participation by the mass of the people themselves, above all else the working people.

The urgency for making the correct choice by our people arises from several forces at present at work in the continent. There is the great menace of *Neo-Colonialism*—the indirect forms of imperialist penetration into Africa—through private investment, military bases and alliances, through the control of the African press and other propaganda media, and in other ways. Woddis examines the methods of contemporary neo-colonialism in Africa and rightly draws the conclusion that this is now the major danger to Africa's independence and progress. Unless this danger is fought now and on the basis of the widest mobilization of the people, African independence will quickly lose much of its meaning and content. Coupled with this is the danger arising from the continued presence of powerful imperialist monopolies which dominate large sectors of African agriculture, which control the bulk of the mining resources of the continent and predominate in the distribution, banking and other service industries. Through them, the economies of the majority of African states remain tied to imperialism and, doubtless, this situation provides the basis for the plans of the European colonialists to collectively 'associate' Africa in the European Common Market and similar economic blocs.

How are all these transformations to be carried out? It is here that the question of the role of the organized working class in the leadership of the new African states emerges with considerable force. The working class has the greatest interest in socialism and independence: it is the workers who possess nothing but their labour power, 'who can without hesitation embrace the idea of public ownership of the means of production since it has nothing to lose but its chains of capitalist exploitation'. Only the workers as a class have proved themselves to be the most loyal and determined champions of independence and freedom. And only the workers, by virtue of their objective class conditions, possess a theory of socialism and social progress capable of meeting the most complicated tasks of the African people in the present stage of their struggles. Thus, unless the working class in free Africa, organized as an independent force, can play a decisive role in the forward march of the African revolution, the revolution itself will be distorted and limited, opening new opportunities for the imperialists and reducing free Africa to the status of dependence.

Unfortunately the issue of the role of the African working class in the independent African states has become confused with a different question—that of democracy and the two-party system in Africa. And Woddis does not seem to succeed in completely removing the confusion. He outlines the views of various African leaders who favour single-party systems and summarizes this view as suggesting that single parties afford the best means of preserving national independence and developing the national economies. There may be some substance in this view; in the struggle against imperialism and the consolidation of independence, the support of the entire people, organized as a single and determined national force, is most decidedly necessary. And it may even be necessary that the broadest unity be maintained in the 'national democracy' phase of the African revolution.

However, the real point of the discussion on democracy and party government in Africa is found in the efforts of the colonialists and their apologists to force upon Africa systems of government generally found in the West—systems which in the early stages of the African revolution can provide certain essential checks on the progress of the independent states and place obstacles, built into constitutions, in the path of policies for economic planning, nationalization, land reform and all the other essential prerequisites for economic independence and development. These efforts are part of the techniques of neo-colonialism and have received a well deserved rebuff from several African leaders.

But this is a wholly different issue to the vital role that the organized working class must play as an independent force in the struggle forward for socialism and freedom. Unless the existing mass national parties permit ample freedom to the workers to play this role and to acquire a place in the leadership of the state, the workers will create their own organization and party to protect their country's independence, for which they fought so bitterly, and campaign for their policies of the socialist path and for a place in the direction of the state machine. Nothing will stop the working class from playing this role. Marxism, amply confirmed by history, shows that the workers as a class have a historic role and duty to lead and win socialism. Woddis shows that recent developments in Ghana, at least, suggest that working class ideas are on the ascendant in the mass national organization and the government. But there are many examples in free Africa where the working class and their trade unions have become mere instruments of state policies; policies which they have had no hand in shaping; where socialist literature is banned and where socialist ideas are frowned upon. Here the single party system becomes a drag on change and opens the door to reaction and imperialist penetration.

It is true that in Africa classes are still in the process of formation; that as Woddis repeatedly reminds us, there is some mobility between classes and that there may even exist a certain measure of unity between class interests at this stage of the African liberation struggle. However, it is equally important to recognize that there are emerging cohesive working class interests and that class antagonisms in Africa are developing with some rapidity. A new bourgeoisie is emerging from the ranks of the bigger traders and richer farmers and even from those petty-bourgeois forces which utilize their political positions to strengthen their economic position. In this situation as Woddis concludes, 'it is inevitable that the working class will seek to establish its own political party which can defend its own class interests and at the same time, uphold the deepest interests of the nation as a whole'.

The book contains lively chapters on 'Pan-Africanism and the African Personality' and on Africa's role in the world. Woddis reviews the long history of the Pan-African movement and the central role played by that great Negro and Communist, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, in bringing about the understanding that Africa must unite to be free in her struggles against colonialism. Woddis extracts what is positive in 'Pan-Africanism' and shows how profound an impact these positive aspects have made on the African Freedom movement. The negative aspects—the 'Distortions of Pan-Africanism'—are still present, though considerably discredited by the march of events in Africa and the world. Woddis cites the example of the South African Pan-Africanist Congress (P.A.C.). While every major Pan-African movement has warned against anti-white chauvinism, the P.A.C. remains avowedly chauvinistic; the P.A.C. is against the unity of all the anti-Apartheid forces of South Africa, and in contrast to the policies of the general pan-African movement, echoes the vile anti-communist slanders of the imperialists, and in this way serves the ends of imperialism in Africa.

By contrast, African unity in action moves increasingly in the direction of co-operation with the world camp of socialism, with which the African people see a fundamental identity of interests in the cause of peace and progress.

Africa—The Way Ahead, like Woddis' earlier two books, makes essential reading for every African revolutionary and patriot.

P. TLALÉ

The African Patriots *by Mary Benson, published by Faber 36s.*

TODAY, WITH THE increasing attention that South Africa is getting from the outside world, more is being written about the people's struggle, particularly the contemporary period. But the written history of South Africa is far from being complete. Too much has already been written about the White population and the African tribes, attempting to portray the Whites as the 'chosen' people; but very little has been written expressing the feelings and the struggles of the African people themselves.

Lionel Forman and Edward Roux have touched on the subject. The period, however, between the formation of Union in 1910 and the treason trial in 1956 has not been effectively annotated or analysed. Many people indeed probably have the idea that the African political movement was dormant between the two world wars. Miss Mary Benson, in her book *The African Patriots*, covers the gap partially, giving us the history of the African National Congress from its birth pangs in 1912 to the end of the treason trial in 1961.

She shows that in the early period of its history the A.N.C. was more active than the general press or governmental agencies were prepared to acknowledge. The nature of the activity, however, was based on making representations, going on deputations and petitioning both the British and South African governments. Miss Benson demonstrates clearly that neither government was at any time prepared to compromise with, let alone agree to any of the African demands. Rather did they use misrepresentations, lies and distortions to sidetrack the genuine grievances of the African people.

In fact, some of the legislation of earlier South African governments, and its implementation, make the measures of the present Nationalist regime seem almost mild by comparison. In 1929 Oswald Pirow supervised tax collection from the African people himself as Minister of Justice: 'he literally commanded an invasion of 500 White police armed with machine guns and bayonetted rifles . . . and 200 Native police'.

Most of the leaders of the A.N.C., particularly in the early period, seemed to have a university education, either as ministers of religion or as doctors. Moses Kotane was the first figure to appear on the scene who did not have any formal education but was forced to learn the hard way. Kotane's early attempts to educate himself, putting his education almost before his very existence, typified the spirit of self-sacrifice of these people who devoted their lives to putting the A.N.C. on the map.

The period since the last war seems to be less effectively covered by Miss Benson. Perhaps, however, this is a false impression, due to the fact that we are more familiar with the events of the last two decades and have formed our own opinions and conclusions. Yet mention must be made of the lack of space and attention given to the Congress of the People, which led to the formation of the Congress Alliance and the adoption by the 3,000 delegates present of the Freedom Charter affirming the people's belief in and determination to strive for a non-racial democracy. In the vanguard of this alliance which was to play such a significant role in the succeeding years was the A.N.C. The half-page which Miss Benson devotes to this historic occasion will be felt by many readers to be inadequate.

Another point of criticism concerns the author's description of the part played by the Communist Party. In general the Communist Party is only mentioned in the book in connection with some quarrel or disagreement on policy. By implication Miss Benson acknowledges that the Communist Party was an active supporter of the A.N.C. It was in fact until recent years the only political party whose ranks were open to all, which demanded equal rights for all without distinction of race, creed or colour, which unequivocally championed the cause and aspirations of the African people and which devoted considerable energy to the task of helping practically in all the major political campaigns since the early twenties when it was formed. Miss Benson gives no hint of all this in her book.

Similarly no mention is made of the progressive newspapers such as the *Guardian* and its successors which spread the words of freedom in the most difficult circumstances. In spite of extreme intimidation and attempts at suppression by the government, these papers stood four square behind the A.N.C. and the Congress Alliance until the bitter end. Their value was repeatedly and publicly acknowledged by the Congress leaders such as Chief Lutuli and Dr. Naicker. One feels Miss Benson might have done the same. For years Congress had no paper of its own. But for the progressive press it would have had no public voice at all.

One is to some extent doubtful whether the book was best written by 'an outsider'. On the one hand there has been so much dissension on policy matters over the 50 years of the A.N.C.'s history—dissension at times leading to extreme bitterness—that someone not directly engaged in the conflicts can record them with greater objectivity. On the other hand, the book lacks the dynamism which could only have been injected by someone who had played a direct part in the South African freedom struggle.

Nevertheless, one must not look a gift horse in the mouth. Miss Benson has tackled a job which others perhaps better placed have neglected, and one must be grateful for the industry and enthusiasm which she has devoted to her task and which enabled her to complete it despite interference from the government which eventually forced her to leave South Africa. It is to be hoped that this book will be the forerunner of many similar books which will no longer distort South African history but put it in its true perspective. We have desperate need of them.

S. J.

■ DOCUMENTS

In this issue the *African Communist* publishes three documents of major significance which we are sure will be of interest to our readers. They are:

1 A statement of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee on the future of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement.

2 A speech to the Presidential Committee meeting of the World Council of Peace by the Representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, J. B. Marks. Vienna, 27 September, 1963.

3 A protest addressed to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Bechuanaland People's Party on the treatment of political refugees in Bechuanaland Protectorate.

DOCUMENT 1

FOR THE FUTURE OF THE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

The Statement of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Circulated at a Session of the Executive Committee of the Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity.

AS A RESULT of the prolonged struggle by the peoples, the old system of imperialist colonial domination has in fact fallen to pieces. The overwhelming majority of the former colonial peoples have won state independence for their countries. The peoples which still remain as colonial will inevitably win their state independence in the near future.

And in winning their liberation with the greatest possible speed they can invariably count on the fraternal solidarity and all-round support of the land of Soviets.

The last strongholds of colonialism will collapse. And the day of the final victory over the oppressors of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and other countries is not distant. The day of the proclamation of the independence won in prolonged struggle by the Kenyan people is nearing. An inevitable downfall awaits the puppet regimes in South Vietnam, Taiwan, South Korea which are supported by American and Japanese imperialists. The peoples of all these countries are waging a holy struggle of liberation, many of them with arms in their hands. They will win. The Soviet people are watching this struggle with unflagging attention, are supporting their heroic efforts aimed at freeing their countries from the yoke of colonialism. Our country has given and is giving moral and material aid, including aid by arms, to those fighting for their freedom and independence. In this we see our international duty.

The balance of forces between socialism and imperialism being what it is on the world arena, imperialism is no longer able to break the will of the peoples struggling for their social and national liberation and to restore the former system of colonial regimes.

The peoples that have won political independence have entered a new stage in the struggle against imperialism, for strengthening their sovereignty, developing their national economies and cultures, and effecting internal democratic transformations. The peoples being liberated are proceeding one after another to deal with the difficult job of abolishing the after-effects of the robber rule of the colonizers. In the course of the anti-colonial revolutions there are arising new forms of struggle against imperialism and against the internal reactionary forces, who are imperialism's allies and agents in the liberated Asian and African countries.

The further development of national-liberation revolutions raises the question of the paths of development of the countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke. In the course of the struggle the peoples are realizing ever more clearly that non-capitalist development, the path leading to socialism, is the only path for solving the tasks of national revival, consolidating political independence, gaining economic independence and expanding democracy. Socialism has become the most popular slogan in the liberated countries.

The leaders of many states that have embarked upon the path of sovereign development declare that their countries will build socialism. The governments of a number of Asian and African countries have declared their aim to build a socialist society. Moved by the feeling of fraternal solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa, the Soviet people perfectly understand and fully support the striving of the peoples of these countries to live in conditions of socialism. They know from their own experience the beneficial changes the socialist system brings, a system which turns most backward areas into centres of developed industry and blossoming agriculture, and brings the peoples freedom and material wellbeing. The spreading of the idea of scientific socialism in Asia and Africa reflects the historical need and confirms the indisputable fact that capitalism has completely discredited itself. The invincible ideas of socialism are spreading ever more extensively in the world. This sets the Afro-Asian solidarity movement new important tasks for uniting in their ranks truly anti-imperialist forces fighting for the eradication of everything reactionary, and for the implementation of democratic transformations. And the further ability of the movement to make a positive contribution to the fight for a radiant future for the Asian and African peoples depends on how deeply and correctly these tasks are understood.

Our movement will develop if it takes into consideration demands of the time, if its aims correspond to vital interests of peoples striving for freedom, peace and progress. This movement can lose any prestige and degenerate if it allows itself to be drawn into ignoring vital needs of peoples.

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The all-important condition for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial revolutions is a resolute struggle against all attempts to wrest the national liberation movement and one of its component parts, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, away from the general stream of the world revolutionary movement, and thereby to isolate it from the countries of the socialist camp, the world working-class and democratic movements. In the fight against imperialism the Asian and African peoples have always only gained from joint action with the other anti-imperialist forces, they have a reliable buttress in the shape of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

With the rise of the world socialist system, with the strengthening of the economic and military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the positions of imperialism are growing ever weaker, and this process is irretrievable. The blows being dealt at imperialism by the peoples fighting for their national liberation lead in their turn to further alteration of the balance of forces to the advantage of the anti-imperialist front. In the battle against imperialism and neo-colonialism exceptionally favourable conditions have now opened up for the further development and expansion of all forms of co-operation of the peoples of the socialist countries with both the peoples of the former colonies, and those peoples which are confronted today with the task of breaking down the fetters of colonial oppression.

We are of the opinion that the Afro-Asian solidarity movement does not constitute a boxed-in movement. It implies, on the one hand, solidarity, mutual assistance and co-operation between the peoples of the countries that participate in it, and, on the other hand, solidarity, mutual support and co-operation between the peoples of these continents and the socialist countries, between these peoples and the working class and progressive forces of the European and American countries. These two sides of the great solidarity movement are indissolubly bound together and cannot be set against one another, as some people are trying to do. Any attempt to tear the Afro-Asian solidarity movement away from the other revolutionary forces of our times, regardless of who is doing it and of the nature of the slogans used to cover this up, would only be to the advantage of imperialism and to the disadvantage of the movement itself.

The imperialist colonizers, as is well known, have expended no little energy on raising all sorts of barriers between the working class movement and the peoples' national-liberation movement, between the 'white' and the 'non-white' peoples. The task facing the participants of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement is not to cling to these or raise new obstacles in their place, but to destroy all such obstacles to their very foundations. A graphic example of the absurdity to which people can descend in narrow-nationalist 'researches' and in endeavouring to create new obstacles is the fuss made by the newly-baked geopoliticians over the 'problem' of whether the Soviet Union relates to the category of Asiatic countries or not. In this they are trying to discover grounds for attempting to 'excommunicate' the Soviet people from the Afro-Asian solidarity movement.

One has to lose all sense of reality to assert, that the Asian, African and Latin American peoples can, without the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which are the main buttress of anti-imperialist forces, without the working class and the peoples of the developed capitalist countries, put an end to the world system of imperialism.

That is nothing but a line for isolating the fighting peoples of the three continents from the other revolutionary forces. Objectively it deals a blow to the progressive democratic trend in the national-liberation movement. Such a line is particularly dangerous now, when lines of demarcation are being drawn and clashes are taking place between different trends, connected with the deepening of the struggle to root out the remnants of colonialism, and when agrarian reforms and other democratic transformations are being carried through.

The highroad of anti-colonial revolutions is the road of democracy and progress. By agreement with the U.S. and West European imperialists the forces of reaction in liberated countries are attempting to seize power, and to this end are taking advantage of the temporary difficulties facing the young states, of lack of accumulated experience or inconsistency in the operation of progressive measures. Suffice it to recall the events in Iraq and the Congo, and the manoeuvres of reaction in India and Morocco.

The Soviet people are wholly on the side of the working people, on the side of the forces of democracy in the liberated Asian and African countries. The Soviet people vigorously condemn all sorts of reactionary plots and coups d'etat in the young Asian and African countries. The successes of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement depends on the extent to which it rests consistently and resolutely on the forces of progress and democracy.

In this sense positive significance attaches to the decisions of the Conference of the heads of the independent African states in Addis Ababa, for example, which expressed the aspirations of the African peoples to face imperialism and neo-colonialism with the united forces of all the countries of their continent.

At this Conference the independent African states made a further step towards winning their economic independence, in strengthening peace, banning nuclear weapons tests and general disarmament. Thereby the African states showed a good example of concern not only for their own interests, but also for the interests of all mankind.

The preaching of national exceptionalism, chauvinism and racism, whatever the quarter from which it comes, is incompatible with our movement's tasks. At all Afro-Asian solidarity conferences resolutions condemning such things have been adopted jointly. We cannot reconcile ourselves both with racial discrimination in the U.S.A. and with the policy of apartheid in South Africa, with the policy of genocide, pursued by the Baathists in Iraq, the Salazarists in the Portuguese colonies and the Ngo-Dinh-Diemites in South Vietnam. We cannot reconcile ourselves to appeals for the unification of Asia and Africa on a racial basis.

* * *

For the young nations peace among nations is a necessary precondition not only for this or that line in independent development but also for their very existence. Now no country or people is insured against unparalleled calamities in the event of thermo-nuclear war. In a world divided into opposite social systems, it is possible to rule out worldwide nuclear catastrophe only by upholding principles of peaceful co-existence.

Soviet people, who unswervingly follow the behests of the great V. I. Lenin, start out from the fact that peaceful co-existence only covers the inter-state relations of countries with different social systems, but not the relations between the antagonistic classes within each country or the relations between foreign oppressors and an oppressed people.

The Soviet people reject the inventions to the effect that, allegedly, the observation of the principles of peaceful co-existence, as Lenin understood them and as the Soviet Union upholds them, means 'reconciliation' between the oppressed and the oppressors.

The Soviet Union has always invariably stood, and stands now, on the side of the peoples' legitimate struggle. Suffice it to recall the rebuff given to the Anglo-French-Israeli intervention against Egypt during the Suez crisis in 1956, or the elimination of the very dangerous situation in the Caribbean in 1962, when a direct threat of armed U.S. intervention hung over Cuba.

The whole world knows that the Soviet Union has indeed supported liberation wars, considering them to be the sacred right of the peoples to win social and national liberation. With the help of the Soviet Union many formerly oppressed peoples not only acquired arms which they needed badly to fight against colonialists, but established and successfully strengthened their national defence. Those who are trying to cast aspersions on the policy of our state in this question willy-nilly side with imperialists in slandering the Soviet country.

At the same time the Soviet people are deeply convinced that the lessening of international tension which the government of our country is steadfastly working to secure exerts a favourable influence on the lives of all peoples, that it facilitates the independent economic, social and cultural development of the young sovereign states, speediest liberation of the still oppressed peoples.

Only in conditions of peace and the further lessening of international tension can the policy of active neutralism opposing aggressive forces, of non-alignment and non-participation in war blocs proclaimed by many young states find complete development.

Colonialism has left to the young states a heritage of arbitrarily fixed frontiers. However, there is no need whatever to resort to armed force in order to rectify the frontiers established by colonial invasion. The fairest and stable solutions can be achieved by peaceful good-neighbourly negotiations. We are convinced that this is the way in which the border conflict can be settled between the two great powers, the Chinese

People's Republic and India, the conflict which the U.S. and British imperialists are making extensive use of for their own purposes.

Conflicts and military clashes between liberated countries enable the imperialists to supply military 'aid' and thus to draw these countries into the system of aggressive blocs. By coming out in favour of the peaceful settlement of such conflicts, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement thus expresses the vital interests of all the Asian and African countries, and makes its contribution to the lessening of international tension. The movement can also make extensive use of the favourable circumstance that the young Asian and African sovereign states now constitute a majority of the U.N. capable of actively influencing the solution of the most important international problems.

Constantly coming closer to the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, and stretching out the hand of friendship are the world trade-union organization of militant working people, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the peace movement, the progressive central bodies of the youth, women's and other democratic movements. They are moving towards our common goal that of winning a better life for all people on earth, and for the establishment of lasting peace, mutual understanding and friendship among nations.

As for general disarmament, its achievement would mean, first and foremost, the elimination of the enormous armed forces and the contemporary armaments of the imperialist powers, which the latter use against the national-liberation movement for the purpose of interfering in the affairs of the young sovereign states. Soviet people will work persistently to secure the general disarmament. They reject all the attempts to discredit the idea of disarmament in the eyes of those who fight for freedom and independence.

The signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water, which the peoples have met with approval, marks the first real step they have won on the difficult path of struggle for the lessening and cessation of the nuclear arms race, and for the establishment of an international climate favourable for the achievement of disarmament. All Soviet people regard the Moscow Treaty as a good beginning, which should be followed even now by the struggle for the implementation of the idea of creating extensive nuclear-free zones and securing other practical measures lessening the danger of a nuclear war and bringing nearer general and complete disarmament.

Is it not a fact that no single people in the world is interested in intensifying the arms race, in letting nuclear weapons spread over the whole world? If this were to take place it would also affect the interests of the Asian and African countries and peoples, with their peaceful plans for developing the productive forces. It is clear that the sphere and the scope of nuclear armament should not be extended, but limited, and a fight be waged to secure the total banning and destruction of nuclear weapons. One may recall that as far back as 1957, the First Conference of Asian and African peoples in Cairo adopted a resolution against nuclear tests. One can also point out that the overwhelming majority of the countries which signed the Moscow Treaty are young African and Asian states and other countries standing on anti-imperialist positions of active neutrality.

Life shows convincingly that the cause of world peace and the struggle for national liberation are indivisible. It is quite correctly stated in the General Declaration, unanimously adopted by the Conference in Moshi (February 1963): 'For the sake of weakening the present international tension and averting general world war we support the principle of general and controlled disarmament and peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.'

Persistently following this principle, resisting provocations of adventurist elements the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement can play an important role on the new stage of development of African and Asian countries.

* * *

Peace is a necessary precondition for solving the complicated economic problems that face the liberated countries. Now the battle to eliminate economic backwardness and ensure the speediest social and economic development of the liberated countries is the cardinal form of struggle against imperialism.

The devastation, stagnation in the development of the productive forces, the protracted period of difficulties in economic development and the continuing low standard of living may give rise to a decline in revolutionary enthusiasm and to apathy among the masses of people. And this often harbours the danger of reactionary coups and the advent to power of hirelings of imperialism in the liberated countries.

A great threat to the independent economic development of the liberated countries is their participation in military blocs, which as a rule leads to the swelling of their military budgets and diverts their resources from economic development. Military bases intensify the dependent character of the economy, and are hindering the economic development of a number of Asian and African countries.

Imperialism also resorts to forms of group colonialism. An example of such combination of imperialist powers may be found in the policy of the 'European Economic Community' towards the liberated Asian and African countries. In recent years there has been a marked increase of economic expansion in the liberated countries by monopolies of the U.S.A., Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, and monopolies of old colonialist countries: Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands which impose unequal agreements leaning, wherever it is possible, on their puppets in the governments and making use of difficulties faced by young economy of Afro-Asian states. They come offering their 'good services', but actually work to maintain the previous enthralling relations, Under these conditions, the tasks facing the solidarity movement grow wider. Problems relating to the fight for economic independence become one of the most important aspects of the movement's activity.

Those who refuse to see this ignore the fact that the peoples of the former colonial world are at different levels of their political and economic liberation from imperialism. Attempts to reduce the anti-imperialist struggle merely to armed methods can only disorientate many of the movement's participants. Actually, for many countries the struggle to secure the speediest economic development, and progressive social reforms are already at this stage the most important form of anti-imperialist struggle.

In a brief period of history the peoples of the liberated countries have already accumulated quite an amount of positive experience in economic construction. In a number of Asian and African countries effect is being given to such progressive measures as the restriction of the activities of foreign companies and the nationalization of enterprises and banks belonging to them, agrarian reforms and development of the co-operative movement. The peoples of the liberated countries are resolutely demanding the abolition and revision of the enslaving economic, political and military treaties left over from the days of colonialism and limiting their state sovereignty. These legitimate demands meet with the understanding and full support of all progressive mankind.

Important new phenomena in the economic life of the liberated countries are the increasing role and participation of the State in economic construction, the creation and development of the state sector, the planning, and the strengthening of national industry. The experience of these transformations, which are directed against imperialism, is of enormous significance for all the liberated countries. Here, too, a wide field of activity opens up for the Afro-Asian solidarity movement.

There is a growing tendency in the liberated countries to establish closer economic and commercial ties with the socialist states. The Soviet Union has always regarded the development of economic ties and assistance to the liberated countries as a matter of primary importance, one facilitating the further consolidation of the united anti-imperialist front of the Asian and African peoples. The Soviet people has experienced quite a number of difficulties; that is why it deeply understands the problems facing the developing countries. It has no mercenary motives when it renders aid. The aid rendered by the socialist countries is part of the property of the socialist states created by the hands of their working people, whereas the loans and credits given by the imperialists on enslaving terms are merely a small share of the plunder the latter have secured in the Asian and African countries.

The aid rendered by socialist countries is directed towards ensuring the speediest possible mustering of internal resources and towards enabling the peoples of the liberated countries to take the development of the national economy into their own hands. The socialist aid is based on equal rights, on respect for the sovereignty of the independent Asian and African countries. This compels the imperialists frequently to agree to substantial concessions.

* * *

We do not close our eyes to the difficulties and obstacles in our path, and are aware of the fact that the camp of world reaction, headed by the American imperialism, despite its losses and defeats, still constitutes a serious threat to peace and the freedom of nations. But we are also firmly confident of the strength and invincibility of the mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism, and of the impregnability of the revolutionary liberation process that is sweeping all continents.

The guarantee of the inevitable triumph of the forces of peace, freedom and progress throughout the world lies in the unity and solidarity of these forces on a democratic basis. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement, being an inseparable part of the world anti-imperialist front, can achieve its aims only in irreconcilable struggle against reactionary, anti-democratic tendencies, against all sorts of prejudices left by the colonial past, against everything that urges this movement towards isolation from its allies. Soviet people are confident that the Afro-Asian solidarity movement in this struggle will strengthen the indissoluble unity of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, and will win further successes on this path, the path of struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and progress.

DOCUMENT 2

A SPEECH TO THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA, J. B. MARKS.
VIENNA, 27 SEPTEMBER 1963.

ON BEHALF of the African National Congress and the oppressed and fighting people of South Africa, I salute this historic meeting.

Our organisation, the African National Congress is the oldest and largest national organisation of the African people of South Africa with an unimpeachable record of struggle for the freedom of our people. It was founded in 1912, shortly after the adoption of the colour-bar constitution of 1910, to be the expression of African Nationhood and the mouthpiece of the oppressed people and their instrument for their national emancipation. The African National Congress did its utmost to gain redress for the grievances of our people by legal, constitutional and peaceful means. Twice we went to Whitehall, at a time when the British Government still had powers to disallow certain legislation in South Africa. We failed to get redress.

Hence progressively our organisation decided to rely on the resources and determination of our people. Mass Movements against White Domination and race discrimination developed and grew, reaching a high peak after the second world-war and particularly after the return to power of the Nazi-inspired Nationalist Party of South Africa. With fearlessness and courage we launched boycotts, protest demonstrations, strikes, passive resistance—but all in vain. The South African Government instead of meeting the legitimate demands of our people for freedom replied by whittling away the last remaining vestiges of civil rights in our country, by persecuting the leaders of our people, by making one repressive law after another, by banning passive resistance and preparing for civil war. In 1960, our organisation was declared illegal. But we decided to defy the ban and operate underground.

In our view the situation in South Africa has so deteriorated that our country is on the brink of civil strife and catastrophe. The White minority Government ignoring the demands of our people and in complete defiance of world opinion has now established a fully-fledged fascist state where the rule of law has been substituted by the gun and the baton. Peaceful acts of protest have been rendered illegal and punishable by long terms of imprisonment or death. The vicious onslaught not only affected the African National Congress and other progressive organisations, but also rendered the work of the South African Peace Movement almost impossible. Not only are persons banned from political organisations but they are also prohibited from participation in the mass activities of the South African Peace Council. Large groups of people are being uprooted in the most ruthless and provocative fashion. Thousands of people have been flung into gaol for demanding ordinary human rights. Some of the families of the leaders are held as hostages. Only recently Walter Sisulu, the beloved and heroic underground leader and his colleagues were arrested at Rivonia outside Johannesburg. We are convinced that the South African Government is preparing to stage a frame-up trial in which the lives of these heroes of the people will be at stake.

A few days ago the South African police brutally shot another hero, Dennis Brutus who has led in the struggle to isolate South African white sports from world sports. The latest victim of the 90 days imprisonment without trial whose name has come to light is Looksmart Solwandle who died of police brutalities in Pretoria.

Nevertheless, these terrorist measures have failed to quell the struggle of the people under the leadership of the underground African National Congress. As a counter to the determination of our people, the South African Government is arming the Whites to the teeth. Violent repression is mounting. A civil war hysteria is being whipped up among the Whites. In this grim situation our people are determined to achieve their goal whatever the cost may be. They are prepared to meet armed repression with armed revolt.

In the impending civil strife in our country, certain Western Imperialist powers are deeply involved. They have already taken sides by shamefully giving support and aid to the White racist Government, in the form of finance, arms, military training and technicians.

In our view these Western powers have deliberately entered the arena of violent conflict in South Africa on the side of those who are trying to bludgeon our people into submission and to drown the country in blood. In this connection we would like to endorse the statement made by the Vice-President of Tanganyika, the Honourable Mr. R. M. Kawawa in his opening address to the Committee of the organisation of African Unity in Dar-es-Salaam on the 25th June,

1963. Referring to the 'Unholy Trinity' of South Africa, Portugal and the Central African Federation, of Welensky:

> 'I said this unholy trinity has powerful friends and allies, who are these friends? I am told these friends and allies are the countries constituting the European Economic Community led by the United States and Great Britain. The last mentioned countries are the greatest friends of our enemies.'

Dr. Verwoerd is so confident of and understands his Western Allies so well that speaking on the possibility of United States military aid to African countries he said in the House of Assembly in May, 1962.

> 'How on earth can people say such things? Nobody considers that France or Britain will give such support. Why then the insult to the United States that it would indeed be receptive to such intentions? It must be borne in mind that, in spite of the fact that there are differences regarding our colour policy . . . there are also vast planes of friendship and co-operation. Not only is there economic co-operation but this is also apparent in the sphere of research which at the moment holds the attention of the world . . . namely in connection with satellites and related space objects. I do not allow myself to be told that the strategists of the United States will adopt the attitude that South Africa can nevertheless be thrown to the wolves or be swallowed up in the fluctuating ideological streams which, inspired partly by communism flow across Africa, rather than accept her as being by nature, a safe and sure and permanent friend.'

The racist Government of Dr. Verwoerd consistently boasts that it is the bulwark of the Whites, of Western Democracy and also the reliable ally of these powers in Africa against what they call communists who to them are all those who are opposed to racialism, White domination and Colonialism. This boast is intended to give morale to the White supporters of racialism and to spur them on to commit further outrages against our people.

America, France, Belgium and West Germany are pouring money and arms into South Africa which will be used against the Africans—the Non-White people. In addition certain elements in Britain and France are collaborating with the White Racialists in our country to convert the country into an arsenal by building armaments factories. The 78 million pounds per annum which Dr. Verwoerd's government is spending on armaments to fortify his obnoxious regime goes to swell the coffers in these countries.

Certain countries particularly the United States of America want to hide behind the excuse that the arms which they supply to South Africa are purely for defence purposes and not for use in the implementation and maintenance of police and internal security. We reject this explanation.

It is well known that in March, 1961 the Minister of Defence of South Africa declared:

> 'That South Africa must prepare for internal trouble in the same way as the major powers are continually preparing for war.'

International security and what is referred to as Defence are completely integrated. This is illustrated by the fact that the Police Force forms part of the Defence Force.

A demonstration that the building up of the military force of the country is purely in the interests of maintaining White Domination is the fact that only whites are being armed. If this was a genuine question of defence of the country surely it is not expected that the Africans should be completely exposed to this mythical aggression and left unarmed.

Apart from the fact that this pouring in of arms to South Africa seriously affects the balance of military forces on the continent of Africa and so constitutes a menace to the security of African States, it also equips South Africa with the means to resist the United Nations Organisation's Resolutions insofar as South West Africa is concerned. In July, 1961, when the nine men United Nations South West Africa Committee planned to visit South West Africa according to press reports at the time, men and helicopters of the South African Defence Force were deployed along the South West Africa—Bechuanaland border to forcibly prevent their entry. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* of March, 1962 carried the headlines:

"Hot Reception Awaits United Nations Committee!"

And it went on to challenge that Nationalist Party Officials were privately boasting of military plans to meet the Committee.

South Africa's war machine also constitutes an immediate threat of aggression to the neighbouring territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

Our struggle is a struggle which is waged in one of the most important bastions of Imperialism and Colonialism. It is a struggle against the scourge of apartheid and racialism which constitutes a serious threat to peace in Africa and the world. The contribution of our organisation and our people to world peace lies in the heroic struggle to destroy the system which constitutes an insult to Africans and all right-thinking people.

We believe that the destruction of the monster of Apartheid in South Africa which has assumed the character of Hitler's Nazism in its ruthlessness and aggressiveness will be a significant victory for the forces of world peace and a serious blow to the Imperialists and racialists.

We firmly support the following resolutions on world peace and general disarmament adopted at the historic Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of African States in May this year:

'Having considered all aspects of the questions of general disarmament;

Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to contribute to the achievement of a realistic disarmament programme through the signing, by all States concerned, of a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control;

Have agreed unanimously to concert and co-ordinate their efforts and action in these various fields, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

1 To declare and accept Africa as a denuclearised zone, the banning of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests; the peaceful use of nuclear energy and the banning of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

2 The destruction of existing nuclear weapons;

3 The removal of military bases from Africa and disentanglement of African countries from military pacts with foreign powers;

4 To appeal to the great powers to:
  a reduce conventional weapons;
  b put an end to the arms race; and
  c sign a general and complete disarmament agreement under strict and effective international control.

5 To appeal to the great powers, in particular to the Soviet Union and the United States of America, to use their best endeavours to secure the objectives stated above.

6 To undertake, to bring about by means of negotiation, the end of military occupation in the African Continent, the elimination of military bases and nuclear tests which constitute an essential element of African Independence and Unity.

We welcome the partial Test Ban Treaty as a step towards the complete prohibition of all nuclear weapons and general disarmament. The relaxation of International tension and the consolidation of the victories of the peace-loving forces of the world are advantageous to the national liberation struggles which are fiercely being waged in the outposts of Colonialism and Imperialism.

The confidence of our people is unshakeable in the triumph of the peace-loving forces over the forces of world-war and aggression; in the victory of the heroic struggles of the people for national liberation and independence over the dark forces of oppression, exploitation and racialism. For the achievement of a lasting peace in which all human effort will be devoted to constructive and creative development.'

LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE!
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE!

DOCUMENT 3

BECHUANALAND PEOPLE'S PARTY

A Protest Addressed to the British Secretary of States by the Bechuanaland People's Party

re: POLITICAL REFUGEES IN BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE

The British Secretary of States,
House of Commons, London.
Sir,

The Bechuanaland People's Party (B.P.P.) as a political organization finds itself duty bound to address this letter of protest to your department.

We (the B.P.P.) protest against the British Government behaving as a carbon copy of the white government of the Republic of South Africa by openly supporting the racial policy of the white Republic of South Africa by continuous denial of political asylum to the South African and South West African political refugees. The Bechuanaland Government Police Annual Report has revealed that so far more than 300 refugees or undesirable people have been deported from Bechuanaland Protectorate.

We are calling upon the British Government to rescind their decision to forcefully deport the Hodgsons from Lobatsi in Bechuanaland and to remove all restrictions imposed upon them and other refugees, which restrictions deny them the right to tell the World why they have become refugees in Bechuanaland.

Please find the enclosed copy of the kind of permit given to refugees.

We are protesting against the free inflow of the South African police (Special Branch) into Bechuanaland Protectorate and we are calling upon the British Government to take immediate steps to stop them from entering the territory. Because of their free entering into the territory they had been able to kidnap Dr. Kenneth Abrahams and his colleagues inside Bechuanaland. Hence, political refugees such as Messrs. Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich's lives have been threatened openly that they had to be kept in jail. We demand that these men should be given enough civilized protection outside jail by the Bechuanaland Police and that those who are threatening their lives must be arrested and be prosecuted.

Refugees' lives are being threatened. Refugees' planes are mysteriously burnt in Bechuanaland. We are wondering whether South African and South West African political refugees are different from any other refugees in the World! What are qualifications for political asylum? In 1956 the white government of South Africa gave political asylum to some Hungarians who ran away from some Communist terror in Hungary and during the Congo trouble again the South African white government gave political asylum to some whites who ran away from some terror caused by a Communist inclined government of Mr. Lumumba, according to the imperialists. Some of these Congo refugees were received in Southern Rhodesian railway station with hot cups of tea. It seems the world is being made to believe that everyone who runs away from the cruel racial practices of the white government of South Africa is a Communist. Is the evil only an evil if it is committed by a Communist? Why should they not run away from the evils of apartheid and be given political asylum like the Hungarians and those who ran away from the Congo? What are the qualifications for political asylum?

Our Future is in danger.

The future of the people of Bechuanaland is very dark. The Bechuanaland Protectorate Government is fully protecting the racial policies of the white republic of South Africa. For example it is reported in the *Star* of August 16, 1963, that 'the Administration in Bechuanaland has drafted new legislation, locally referred to as the Conspiracy Bill, which will enable the Attorney General in the territory to order the arrest of virtually anyone opposing South Africa. The draft proposes that the penalty on conviction shall be up to a fine of £500 or three years in prison, or both.' The same *Star* reports that 'A Bill prohibiting political refugees from taking part in activities "which could damage relations with a neighbouring state" has been published in Bechuanaland, said a High Commission source in Pretoria.'

It will be noticed that the aim of the Conspiracy Bill is to stop politicians from any attempt to criticize South Africa, in particular. How can a politician in Bechuanaland be sure that he is free to criticize the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government colonial rule? If South African Refugees are gagged by the British Colonial Government in Bechuanaland, how is the World going to know why they are refugees in Bechuanaland?

There is a talk by the British Government that they are co-operating with the South African Government because they are (the British) doing so in the interest of the people of Bechuanaland. What are these interests? We are not free to enter the white Republic of South Africa either for the purpose of visiting nor for the purpose of seeking employment. We are only allowed to go and work in the mines and farms for the cheapest wages. We supply South Africa with cheap mine and farm labour. The real reason is that they are protecting the British or does all that in the interest of the British mining business in South Africa.

As long as the government of Bechuanaland is still in the hands of the British Colonial Government, nothing will be done in the interest of the people of Bechuanaland. The solution is the granting of political independence to the African people of Bechuanaland.

It is not the denial of political asylum to the South African Refugees in Bechuanaland under the pretext that they are Communists that will solve racial or the apartheid policy which is definitely a threat to the World peace, but the recognition of all men as equals.

Signed: B. D. Macheng, *Secretary General*

Motsamai Keyecwe Mpho, *President*

BECHUANALAND PEOPLE'S PARTY
P.O. Box 37,
Palapye,
Bechuanaland Protectorate.

September 4, 1963.

WHAT OUR READERS WRITE

A MAGNIFICENT PUBLICATION

ONCE AGAIN WE have received a crop of letters from readers in various parts of the world stressing the important role that the African Communist is playing.

A reader in Wales writes:

'May I congratulate you on the publication of a magnificent publication. I can quite honestly state that it is the best Marxist periodical that I have come across in French, English or German. . . . In particular I liked "the Road to South African Freedom" which was superb and it did much to restore my confidence in the South African people after the depression which used to come over me when I read of each new draconic fascist measure and wondered why the devil they didn't emulate their Algerian and Angolan comrades.

'However, I now see that South Africa faces a particularly difficult situation. . . .

'I got a great thrill this summer when I walked into a shop in Paris and noticed, along with much other Marxist literature, a pile of "African Communists". I felt like buying them all but then I realized that by so doing I would be depriving other people of your excellent magazine. When a man came in and bought a copy, I felt like rushing up to him and hugging him. There was an unbelievable sense of comradeship. . . .'

A reader in Ghana writes:

'My respect for the editors and the movement which it (the African Communist) arises from are of the loftiest. . . . It seems to me that, as the struggle sharpens in South Africa, the South African Communists are rising to the occasion and this is reflected in the great dignity and depth of the contents, which each time seem to rise higher than before.'

Some of our readers experience difficulties in receiving the journal. A Mufulira reader encloses with his letter a notice he received from the

Department of Customs and Excise of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland informing him that 12 copies of the African Communist had been seized 'because there are reasonable grounds for believing that they are liable to forfeiture.'

This reader comments on the article written by Joseph W. Musole on 'Class Struggles in Zambia' published in our April-June issue. He says that Musole must first study the labour movement carefully before he writes such articles. In the reader's opinion the late Mr. Katilungu played a very important role in nursing the labour movement from its birth. He disagrees very strongly with the view expressed by Musole that Katilungu was a stooge. The reader also defends Mr. Chisata for not affiliating to the United Trade Union Congress some of whose leaders, he alleges, are using union funds for their personal benefit. Finally the same reader breaks a lance with B. Pela over his article on 'The One Party State in Africa' and says the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia is by no means tribal but draws its support from all sections of the population, including the European section.

THE GREAT DEBATE

A reader in Cardiff, Wales, writes: 'In view of the alarming deterioration of relations between the two major socialist states in recent months, and of the vital importance of Communist international unity of purpose and action, may I ask you to make a public statement on the position of the South African Communist Party and of the African Communist with regard to such matters? I make this request because of the widespread doubt and confusion caused in national liberation circles by the present schemes in world Communism. Many sincere Marxist-Leninists have profound fraternal feelings and admiration for both their Soviet and Chinese comrades. The apparent need at present to choose sides seems invidious. . . .

'I am sure you will agree that lasting world peace and the ultimate success of world communism both depend upon the unity of the socialist camp. Such unity is therefore the most precious thing we possess. The gain of short-term and doubtfully-motivated agreements with the criminal Western leadership is a poor exchange for the loss of our fraternal solidarity and co-ordination of purpose. May our South African Party help to show a way back to complete understanding.'

In reply we can only say that we appreciate our correspondent's concern about the unhappy divisions in the socialist camp. The views of our journal, which naturally reflect those of the South African Communist Party, were last published in our editorial in Vol. 2 No. 3 (April-June) entitled 'The Things That Bind Us'. It is correct, as our correspondent points out, that the situation has taken a further and alarming turn for the worse since then and the matter is at present being studied and discussed by our members and our Central Committee. As a democratic organization it would be invidious for our magazine as the voice of our Party to offer any public pronouncement until a conclusion has been reached. If we may appear slow about this it must not be forgotten that such discussion in the fascist conditions of terror now prevailing at home is a matter of great difficulty and danger. But we hope it will not take much longer.

Another Mufulira reader writes: 'I was recently handed a copy by a friend of your magazine the *African Communist.* After reading it, I found it very educative and of great value to people who are interested in African freedom'.

A Nigerian reader writes that he is ready and willing to co-operate with us 'so that we can direct communism and socialism in our new nation and throughout Africa'. Unfortunately, he is also having trouble with his mail because, as he says, 'our government is against my policy'. Even in so-called free Africa the imperialist philosophy of anti-Communism continues to flourish!

Letters of support and encouragement have also been received from a trade unionist in Australia and from an anti-colonialist study group in France.

WORKING CLASS PARTY

Finally a London reader questions the accuracy of the statement of the Central Committee published on page 14 of our April-June issue that 'the Communist Party is basically an organization of urban workers'. He feels that behind this estimation 'lies not only a certain under-estimation of the degree of class-consciousness that can exist throughout the world amongst agricultural, as well as amongst urban workers, but that it is likely to be particularly unfortunate, taking into account that it comes from almost the largest C.P. in the whole of Africa, where in spite of the existence of many towns there is a predominance of agricultural workers or semi-peasant—almost equally exploited—peoples'. This reader feels that the Communist Party in South Africa will find its staunchest recruits from amongst the millions of agricultural workers and that 'particularly in the rural areas these recruits will and must be the leaders of every protest and upheaval that are now piling up against unendurable oppression'. He feels that our under-estimation of the role of the peasantry can militate 'against the development of our only Party capable of leading all African exploited peoples to their full freedom'.

In reply we can only say that whether or not we have wrongly estimated the role of the peasantry, it is a fact that our party is basically an organization of urban workers. It is perfectly true that the peoples living in the rural areas and in the reserves can play a revolutionary role in South Africa, and that no movement that does not take this into account can hope to mobilize the masses of the South African people for decisive political action. But this cannot alter the fact that our party has grown up mainly in the urban areas of South Africa, and that the majority of its members are urban workers. It is on the shoulders of the urban working class, therefore, that the burden of leadership rests.

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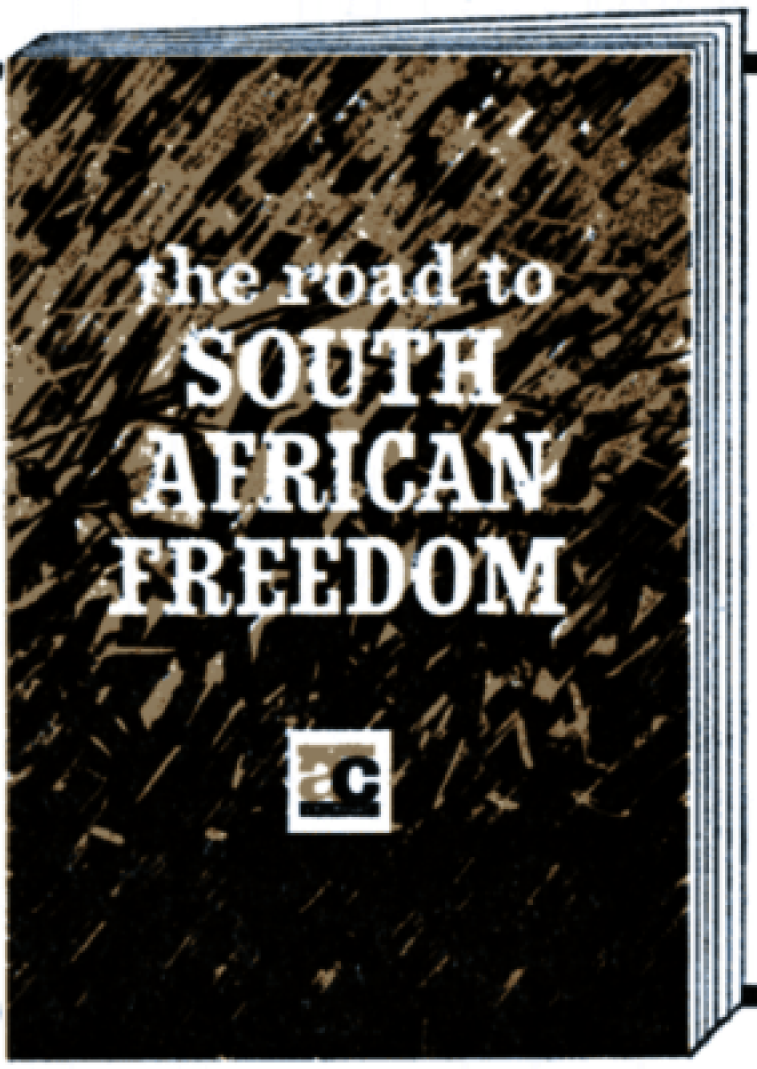

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